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Shell backs white Olympics

CAPE TOWN, South Africa (LNS) — South Africa is continuing with plans for its own all-white Olympics, funded by a donation of £75,000 (\$180,000) from Shell Oil Company. The games are scheduled for April, 1969 in Bloenfontein, South Africa.

South Africa was barred from the 1968 Olympics in Mexico because of the racist composition of its athletics. But white supremacy here preserves its purity, thriving on just such gentle rebuffs. The government of Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster is protected from economic isolation by the big business maxim that "the internal politics of a country are none of our business, unless those politics interfere with the extraction of profits". And Apartheid, with its cheap labor market and sympathetic government, yields very high profits indeed.

Following the expulsion of South Africa from the 1969 Olympics, Shell made its donation "to promote national sports festivals" in the country. Vorster welcomed the gesture

warmly and proposed the separate sports festivals be held for white and non-white athletes.

Thus far, only a white Olympics has been scheduled — the all-white restriction applies not only to athletes in the event, but also to the spectators. Invitations are being limited to athletes who made the highest showings in the Mexico Olympics. Automatically eliminated are all Black Americans, all Africans and Asians, and sportsmen from socialist countries.

To date, although several individuals have accepted invitations (none from the United States), the only nation which has agreed to field a full team is West Germany. A West German spokesman was quoted in the Johannesburg Star as saying, "No matter what other European countries decide there is no doubt whatever that we will be sending a team. We received invitations for 14 athletes — and 14 athletes will be there."

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(at Johnson)

384-7651

Kite festival goes; rain, 'quake or shine

UVIC KITE FESTIVAL

SATURDAY, MARCH 29 - 12:00-4:00 p.m.

BAND: "As Sheriff" - 1:00-4:00 p.m. - SUB lawn

KITE HOSPITAL: For any minor repairs there will be supplies on hand near SUB entrance.

CONTESTS:

	Age 12 and under	Over 12
2:30	Funniest kite	Funniest kite
3:00	Most artistic kite	Most artistic kite
3:30	Kite fighting contest	

SOC HOP: 8:00 p.m. - Lower SUB lounge

Price: 50¢ and 75¢

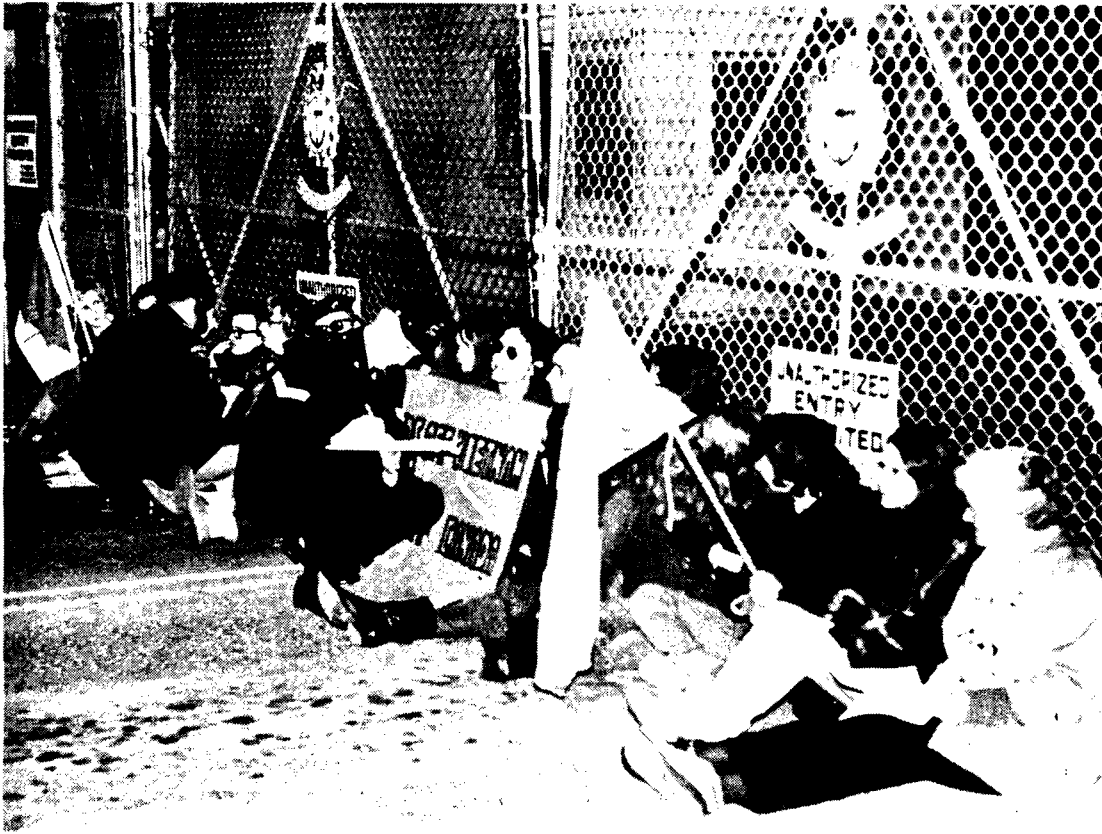
MARTLET STAFF APPLICATIONS

Applications for regular staff positions with the Martlet during the 1969-70 session will be considered if received before last day of lectures.

Positions in the circulation staff are open to applicants during the remainder of term: these positions are remunerative on a monthly basis, with pay ranging in amount from \$20-25 per month. Interested applicants should contact the Martlet for further information, and be prepared to supply some background information regarding any former experience. Staff will also be needed in the following capacities:

photo department
darkroom work
layout and design
advertising
editorial
secretarial
news

Apply the Martlet or Ray Kraft.



Names taken by police

Stoned housewives don't cry, dope symposium reveals

BUFFALO, N.Y. (LNS) — Minds were shattered in Buffalo as notables of the underground — cultural, medical and legal divisions — met for a virtual summit conference on pot and acid. The drug symposium, directed by LEMAR International, hosted an "impressive array of specialists" including Timothy Leary, Allen Ginsberg, Leslie Fiedler and yips Hoffman and Rubin.

After two days of sessions in which a lot of experts agreed that the biggest problem with drugs are the drug laws and the bad research, the Crazies entered, vociferously led by a contingent from the New York City Motherfuckers. As the Buffalo Courier-Express straight media freaked out: "The group, whose name is a vicious obscenity offered some of the more lively comments, but their remarks cannot be quoted here or anywhere else where common sense prevails."

The conference coincidentally opened the day after the conviction of Bruce Beyer, one of the "Buffalo Nine," charged with a criminal assault during Resistance action here last summer. The political temperature was high. A student strike at the University of Buffalo, now in progress, was about to break as the conference began.

Cops, M.D.'s, professors, judges and narcs abounded at a series of meetings at which every aspect of psychedelic drugs was hashed out. Pharmacologist Andrew Weil, friendly researcher in grass, announced his discovery that stoned housewives don't cry while peeling onions. Flash . . . The eye irritant in onions is chemically related to the stuff that affects your eyes in tear gas! Further studies are ongoing.

Neuropsychiatrist Harry Hermon praised pot's value in psychotherapy, saying that it

"wakes one from the groggy, foggy, so-called normal awareness." J. W. Spellman, stoned expert on Asian studies, pointed out that further research is good and well but now irrelevant to the thousands of victims incarcerated by mad drug laws.

Establishment types had a hard time with the assorted pro-pot intellectuals and members of the hip community. Irving Lang, council for the New York State Narcotics Addiction Control Commission, tried to convince more than a thousand heads that there is a "real" reason, unrelated to the United States' madness, that "all the civilized world" has anti-pot laws. (He didn't mention the un-civil among us.)

Federal narc, Benjamin Fitzgerald talked about the instability of crazed heads: "Psychosis is a euphemism for insanity." Fitzgerald said that it is better to bust an old pro than to "take your life in your own hands" with a pot head. "A Mafioso knows how to take a bust!"

Respectably structured conference situations like this one are basically bullshit in light of the fact that people are in jail, and legal pot does not mean revolution. What we are turning on about is a new, free man in a world and there are big bunches of bastards who would shot us dead before it happens.

The conference was an interesting collection of "legitimate" authorities, sincerely doing their legitimate things. There are a lot of people in this country winding their ways through the courts and laborities.

Meanwhile the kids are getting their shit together. The MC5 was wailing and people were blowing grass and crawling out of their rows of seats into loving piles. The cops stood in a corner, baffled.

Dockyard demonstration

a summary of events
by the Norman Bethune Club

On March 9, 5:00 p.m., sixteen Victoria citizens committed civil disobedience at H.M.C. Dockyard, to protest a visit of the U.S. Navy submarine "Barbel."

They sat across the main gate for 2½ hours, after the one other entrance had been chained. They then departed on their own initiative. In reaction to this demonstration, the Canadian Forces have pressed criminal charges dealing with obstruction of public property, an indictable offence. Most of the demonstrators appeared in court March 19, and obtained an adjournment until April 2. They still face possible prison terms to a maximum of fourteen years.

It is important to understand that there was good reason not to expect this kind of extreme reaction from the state. They did not invite arrest. There have been two previous similar demonstrations at Dockyard, and both lasted considerably longer. At the first, the police were forced to carry the demonstrators off the road. The second demonstration was studiously ignored for about four hours. No charges were laid in either case.

The reasoning behind this latest resistance demonstration is fairly straight-forward. It is obvious that the U.S. submarine is a part of the military machine being used to dominate the people of Vietnam. Obviously, too, the increasing use of Canadian ports by the U.S. Navy is symptomatic of the U.S. policy of continental expansion — and the foreign domination of the Canadian people.

The ruling class of the United States seeks military-political domination of Vietnam to serve the interests of that class; and economic-political domination of Canada for the same reason. The "Dockyard 16" protest both these aspects of American imperialistic foreign policy. Perhaps more important, they were actively resisting the blatant complicity of the Canadian state apparatus and military in that policy.

And why then such extreme reaction to this latest demonstration at Dockyard? In retrospect, it is easy to relate this new reaction to new policy, and new pressures from Washington. The recent Canadian immigration crackdown on draft resisters and deserters is another result of this latest shift to the right in U.S. and (therefore) Canadian policy. Two Americans involved in the demonstration face a greater threat of deportation due to this new policy announced publicly one week after the action.

In Victoria, Vancouver, and other cities, there are support committees organized. There are support demonstrations planned. There is talk of large-scale civil disobedience against U.S. warship visits to Vancouver, that cannot be attacked by any method advantageous to the state and ruling class.

Maybe it's like chess. If the above type of action can be seen as a result of our arrests, then the action of arresting us must be viewed as a tactical error, on the part of the state. (Of course, it would have been a mistake to ignore this demonstration, as well.)

And this is what we want! In this instance and permanently, we want to help create a situation, such that, whenever the state must react to revolutionary initiative, its only choice of action is between alternatives of disadvantage! At that point, all developments will move in our favor. And from that point, it's only a short time till "checkmate" for the state: and "game over" for the ruling class.

DEFEND THE DOCKYARD 16 — No. 105, 1716 Newton Street, Victoria, B.C., Canada.

American gov't attacks black studies

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO (LNS) — The federal government has issued a challenge here to the concept of black studies programs. The Antioch College Afro-American Studies Institute (ASSI) has become the first such program to come under fire from the Civil Rights Office of the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare.

In a letter dated February 28, Solomon Arbeiter of that agency requested that "Antioch College submit to us a plan which will lead to the desegregation of course offerings and housing accommodations for the summer session of 1969 and continuing thereafter." The discontinuance of all federal financial assistance to Antioch was threatened if the college does not amend the exclusive nature of its black studies program.

James P. Dixon, an official of Antioch College, replied that "We are dealing with a delicate and crucial question . . . a literal interpretation of the Civil Rights Act, without taking into account the special context of an educational institution, and particularly one that is experimental, might have the result that black students would be denied the specification of their educational needs because they were black."

In their own response, the ASSI stated that they understood how "one might misinterpret the ASSI program to be discriminatory but that is not our purpose . . . ASSI's primary objective is to discover new knowledge concerning the special characteristics of Afro-Americans. This enterprise will benefit all America by enabling Afro-

America to solve its own problems and thus relieve much racial tension.

" . . . since the 1964 Civil Rights Bill was conceived as beneficial for Afro-Americans, it would be a cruel joke if it were used to destroy the one movement that will most benefit Afro-Americans."

Arbeiter's Feb. 28 letter said, "I note that the statement of the ASSI claims exemption as an 'experimental program' . . . We have in our possession the Course and Workshop offerings for the Institute and do not consider it all sufficient to merit an exemption."

The "desegregation plan" must be submitted by March 14.

People bins

guest editorial

By JOSEPH K

Far be it from me to be revolutionary. But sitting here, faced with the necessity of producing a few more than the usual quota of term papers, I could find it in my heart to be radical, to this extent; why is there no place in this entire university to study? When I first came here I thought a university was a place to think and to learn to think, as well as a place to learn. Four years later I know better; slowly the realization has been forced down my unwilling throat. Well, if that's how it is, then I suggest you gentlemen of the administration had better get with it. There are several things wrong with trying to study in the library, namely there's no room, it's too noisy, there's no room, you can't smoke, there's no room, the general atmosphere is oppressive, there's no room. Now, those little people bins are some engineer's conception of a good place to study. If engineers can study in those things, let them. I want no part of them. Bad enough to be stuffed screaming into an intellectual box; I refuse to allow the fantastic truth to become the real truth.

The answer to the problem is impractical and inefficient . . . but then people are not often practical and efficient, and things constructed to accommodate people might reasonably be expected to reflect that situation. The ideal conditions for study are those in which as many distracting influences as possible are removed. Motion is a distracting influence; if you can't get rid of traffic in study areas — and you can't — then you arrange it so that people are not aware of the traffic. And if possible you make the movement as diffuse as possible. Uncomfortable chairs and surroundings are a distracting influence — that one's easy. Fiat comfortable chairs and surroundings. Not having enough room is not just disturbing, it's bloody well annoying. Fiat enough room. And then there's smoking. Well, the basic problem is that people have to breathe, and since ventilation costs money you install the minimum possible. Which isn't good enough, because you can't smoke. And you can't leave for a smoke, either, no matter how near you are to going over the edge, because the instant you get up some other body will occupy your hole and when you return from having your refreshment you are privileged to spend the next half hour looking for another place.

Now all that costs money. Well, gosh, I mean gee-golly-wow, that never occurred to me. I mean, I only work four months to provide just enough bread to get me through a year. I never thought of the money. But since you mentioned it, let's resolve it this way; if you set out to do a job, you get the facilities and equipment to do it right, or else you don't do it. You don't do things half-ass. And you don't go around pretending to be a university when you're performing your function to an extent that would shame even the smallest, most mickey-mouse gyppo logging outfit; they at least manage to cut down a few trees. Your function, at this moment in this society, is producing people who have a large store of factual information available to them — and you can't even do that right!

SUBmerge in new poolroom

Attention poolsharks. The AMS has just purchased two new pool tables for your playing enjoyment.

Both tables are full size 6' x 12' and were once part of the scenery in Naden's wardrobe, said Dick Chudley.

"The idea is that we're going to try and buy these used tables as they become available so when the new SUB expansion opens we'll have them to put in it."

the Martlet

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Referendum crucial to athletics

One of the biggest issues of the year will be the proposed hike in AMS fees from \$30 to \$32 in order to accommodate expanding programmes in athletics at the inter-varsity level.

Jocks asking for a \$6 per head bite of AMS fees may seem like a lot, but with the expansion of the university it is only natural that athletics should graduate into direct competition with other universities across the country. And even at \$6 per head the contribution would be dwarfed by those at Carleton, say, with \$24, or

Notre Dame with \$25. Even little Mount Allison asks \$18.

The following survey of Canadian university athletics fees is designed to make self-evident how far behind Uvic's current \$3.11 per head contribution is to the sports programme.

Readers should also note that should the referendum fail, Uvic participation in the Western Canada Intercollegiate Athletic Association, where we won three crowns the first time out, would be severely curtailed.

School	Athletic Fee	Men's %	Women's %	Men's Sports	Women's Sports
Dalhousie	\$80.00	100	22	27	27
Alberta	8.00	82	18	15	11
U.B.C.	5.00	84	16	25	13
Brock	12.00	80	20	11	—
Calgary	12.00	—	—	11	6
Carleton	24.00	—	—	13	—
Dalhousie	11.50	—	—	17	8
Guelph	16.00	78	22	22	12
Manitoba	—	—	—	17	11
McGill	30.00	83	17	21	21
McMaster	16.00	85	15	23	17
Memorial	10.00	—	—	18	14
Montreal	25.00	—	—	—	—
Mt. Allison	18.00	—	—	13	10
New Brunswick	20.00	81	19	15	5
Notre Dame	25.00	98	2	—	—
Ottawa	—	81	19	—	—
Queens	20.00	—	—	—	—
Regina	10.00	65	35	7	8
Royal Military College	30.00	—	—	—	—
St. Francis Xavier	20.00	—	—	18	—
St. Louis	25.00	100	—	7	—
Saskatchewan	8.00	77.5	22.5	14	10
Trent	15.00	75	25	21	—
Waterloo Lutheran	15.00	80	20	—	—
Waterloo	22.00	95	5	19	10
Western	20.00	—	—	—	—
Windsor	20.00	—	—	—	—
Winnipeg	7.00	82	18	9	5
Average	\$16.75	82%	18%		

letters

Athletic referendum

Sir:

In response to the letter from the Three Economics students (re: Martlet, March 20th), regarding the proposed Athletic referendum, we feel it our duty to present a few pertinent facts to the students.

At present, athletics is the only significant field of active competition between Uvic and other educational institutions. If we have no athletics, we will become an isolationist university. In the WCIAA (of which we are only a junior member), we achieved unprecedented successes in Women's Basketball, Women's Volleyball and Soccer. In Rugby, the university has shown its Northwestern Intercollegiate superiority in the Pacific League. It would be a reflection on the whole university if we were unable to continue to participate in these activities.

It may be relevant here to point out that the average per capita, per student cost of athletics at Canadian universities is \$14, and yet Uvic students pay only \$3.70 — and we have to try and compete on equal terms! This figure of \$3.70 is the lowest by far of any university, and a raise to \$6.00 would still be the lowest per student in Canada.

The Administration has not only agreed to subsidize the athletics programme to the same extent as the students, but has also offered to meet the discrepancy that even a \$6.00 fee will leave in the athletics budget.

Because of present financial difficulties, the Athletics Directorate has already had to withdraw from WCIAA participation in Badminton and Judo, and other programmes may have to be curtailed.

Regardless of whether one participates in any sport or not, it is only fair to remember that each individual who plays for Uvic represents the university and brings much credit to it — from which we all benefit.

We put it to the reader that \$2.00 (which is the total increase), is very little to each individual, considering the cost of a dance or any other social activity. The saving to the student in being admitted to all Uvic athletic events free of charge is self-evident. It is also hoped that this will increase student support and participation in those events.

Mike Elcock,
Rick Donald,
Mike O'Connor.

P.S.: It is totally incorrect to assume that a rise in total A.M.S. fees will lead to an increase in tuition fees.

Peterson's plug

Sir:

In this issue you will find an advertisement or "plug" for the new Academic Affairs Council which is being set up. I would like to briefly mention why I feel the bureaucracy of the A.M.S. should be enlarged even more by the addition of this group.

First of all, I believe the need for Course Unions in some departments on this campus is critical. In certain

departments there are complaints that are common among most of the students in a course, yet there is no effective means of airing grievances or taking effective action.

Secondly, Academic Affairs, is reviewing the possibility of having a rather large function during Frosh week — probably a symposium of some type.

This could take the form of an "orientation" for the new students or could be broadened to include topics of more general interest. In any event, there are problems and projects here that require the attention of some interested students. Leave your name and phone number in my mailbox.

Alan Peterson,
Academic Affairs Chairman

We blew it

Error
Dear Sir:

May we bring to your attention an error in the letter signed by us which appeared in today's (Mar. 20) Martlet. In arriving at an approximation of the expected funds available for athletics next year under the new arrangements we hypothesized an enrolment of 5,000 students and not 8,000 students as was printed in your paper.

It is requested that the above be published in order to give this correction the widest possible circulation and to dispel any fears regarding our arithmetical capabilities.

Kim McGowan, Ec. 3,
Chris Bruce, RA, Ec. 4,
Collin Johnsen, Ec. 3.

In praise of impotence

by Mark Batterbury

Of all the chains that can hold man, none are as subtle or as strong as those that commit him to female flesh. A woman's fulfilment comes from her body, but the same body that proves to be her destiny only too often proves to a man to be a prison: one which he cannot feel growing around him, day after day, night after night. It is as deep and secure as quicksand, and we sink with glad oblivion. A few men, of course, learn to "sing in their chains like the sea," but it is a small song to free ears — a sad song — the rationalizing murmur of a puddle. This may seem too severe a condemnation of carnal commitment, or merely the rationalization of the lonely, but there is truth in it, and the loneliness is that of a bird lost in the sky.

Physical love is a mysterious, powerful force that you do not feel as a chain until, while at your beloved's side, perhaps, you smell fresh, salt air, and make a break for a clear patch of blue sky. But you do not reach it. Something strong — too strong — pulls you back, away from the open spaces, away from your mind's aspirations, back to that purple home with the thick, soft, walls from which so few escape, once inside. Mysterious though this bond is, it is well known what forges it— what power men use in carnal alchemy to transmute the music of love into unbreakable, though golden, chains.

But your own desires, you are probably complaining, are what enslave you. It is here that the freedom which is impotence may be your salvation. What woman would enfold forever an emasculate partner? What woman could, like a judo expert, use your own strength against you if you do not have any? Dependent upon the physical — the corporal — to feel themselves fully alive, they are not likely to embrace more than once the terrifying but wonderful void. That is for artists and philosophers. To be merely inept is, admittedly, a disaster: to desire the end but lack the means is to be a slave to frustrated desires. But complete impotence — freedom from even the desire itself, is a state of peace, platonic beauty, intellectual fulfilment that can lead to the divine freedom which is paradise. Think of Mark Antony, and how small his pleasures seem

beside the tragedy that Cleopatra, the fatal black widow, caused. Her eunuch thrived in her very shadow, enjoying all the finer pleasures of Egypt, because Cleopatra took "little pleasure in aught a eunuch has."

Had Antony, on his first, or, perhaps, second, night in Egypt, disappointed her, he would perhaps have remained free to rule the Roman empire and "drink delight in battle with his peers" both on the plains of war and with the muses on Olympia.

Sexual potency, when not controlled by reason or temperance, is an enemy to man's free will. And ever since Eve led Adam, in the weakness of his erotic love, into forbidden knowledge and out of immortal happiness, man's reason has not controlled his passions. Grace remains as salvation to those in whom revelation illuminates reason and reason governs will and passion. Woman, then and now, reverse this order. Had Shakespeare's Dark Lady decided to respond with amorous flesh to his foolish, wilful advances, she would have made an inmate of the same noble genius that escaped her, retaining the freedom and time necessary to write his plays. It would have been a tragedy indeed had his energies been spent on passion rather than art.

There is a Greek legend of creation that involves the same freedom of will that I have been relating to impotence. As Milton said: "First there was chaos, the vast immeasurable abyss, Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild." Within this darkness a miracle occur-

red, as told by Aristophanes:

... Black-winged night

Forth sprang Love, the longed for, shining
Into the bosom of Erebus dark and deep
Laid a wind-blown egg, and as the seasons
rolled

Forth sprang Love, the longed for, sining
with wings of gold.

Earth the beautiful rose up, a Goddess
wanton, fair,

Who gave birth to all the Gods, but called
them back to her:

The wings of love, made for gods sublime,
abused

But flew them back to darkness, therein
to moult anused.

Immortals blinded by sinful pleasures—
all but one,

Who alone and true in spirit, soared away
From the world's deep womb to light, and
made the sun.

Thus Phoebus bright, free from base
desire, sprang

Golden into the sky, and all heaven sang.

Impotence allows men the same freedom and Platonic love of all creation that gave Phoebus the divine power that made the sun and brought light and nature into a dark and lustful world. To mortals, this liberation gives only insight enough to read a little in God's infinite book, and to gradually transcend flesh in attainment of wisdom — the religious and philosophical mystics spend years in meditation or devotion to achieve.

SOC HOP
FRIDAY, MARCH 28
Lower SUB Lounge
8-12
50¢ Stag
75¢ Drag

Edmonton Public School Board SPECIALIST TEACHERS 1969-70

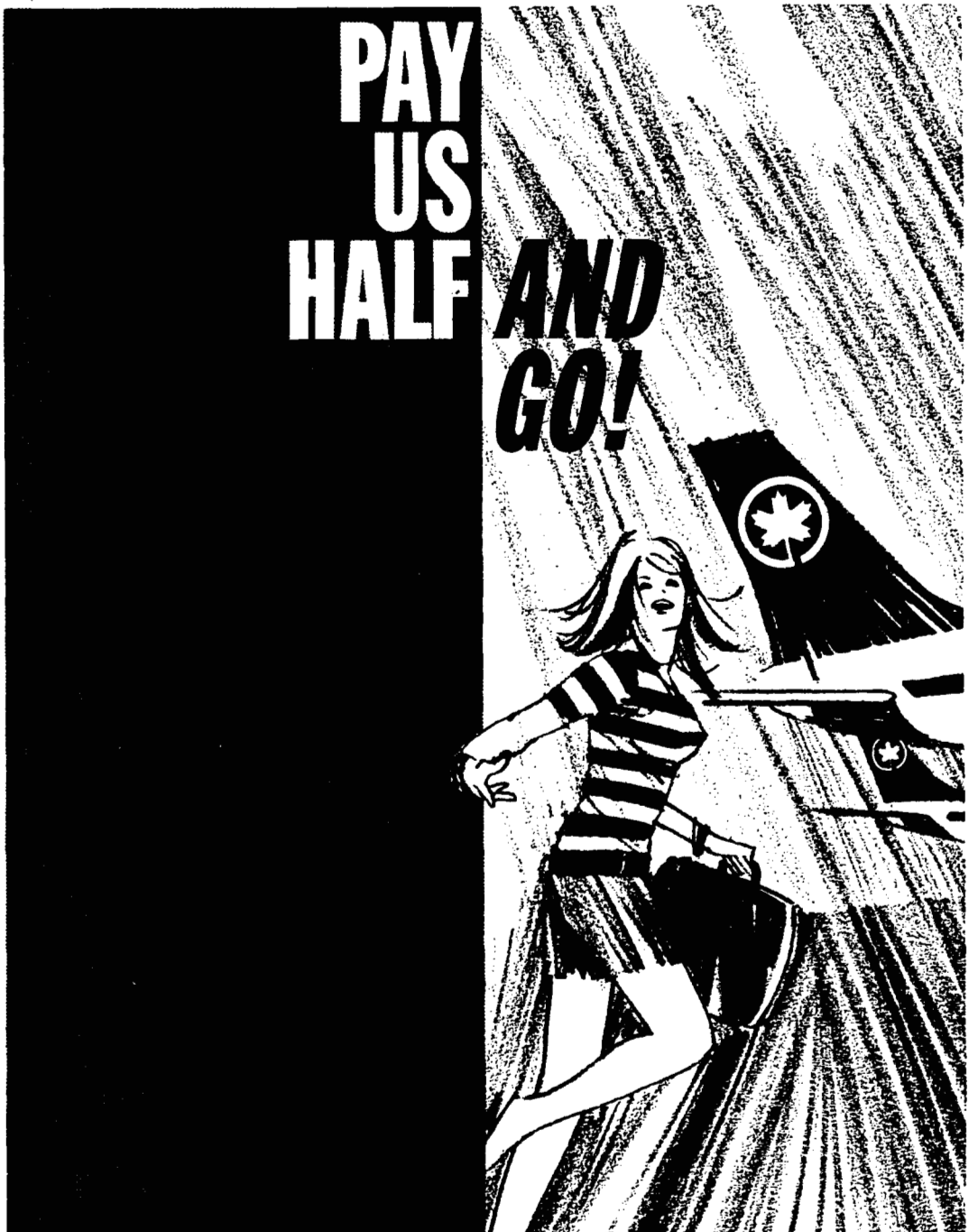
The Edmonton Public School System subscribes to a philosophy of education which places the emphasis on the development of the pupil rather than on subject matter or course content, believing that the ultimate purpose of education is that of fitting man for life.

Staffing requirements are adequately supplied in most areas for 1969-70. Some specialized personnel are still required. Applications are solicited from well-qualified, certificated teachers in the following areas only:

1. **School Psychologist**
(minimum of Master's degree or equivalent in clinical psychology)
2. **Speech Clinician**
(minimum of Bachelor's degree or equivalent)
3. **Special Education**
 - (a) Educable Mentally Retarded
 - (b) Hard of Hearing
 - (c) Neurologically Impaired
 - (d) Emotionally Disturbed
 - (e) Low Vision
4. **Secondary Vocational in the following trades ONLY:**
 - (a) Horticulture
 - (b) Custodial Services
 - (c) Food Preparation (Chef Qualifications)
5. **Teacher Librarians**
(minimum of 3 university courses in library science)
6. **Oral/Aural French Specialists at most grade levels**
7. **Secondary Industrial Arts - (multi-activity)**

All applicants must be eligible for Alberta teacher certification requiring a minimum of two years post-secondary education beyond British Columbia grade 13 including formal teacher education.

For application forms, employment information, and interview appointment for April 1, please contact:
Canada Manpower, Victoria University, Victoria, B.C.

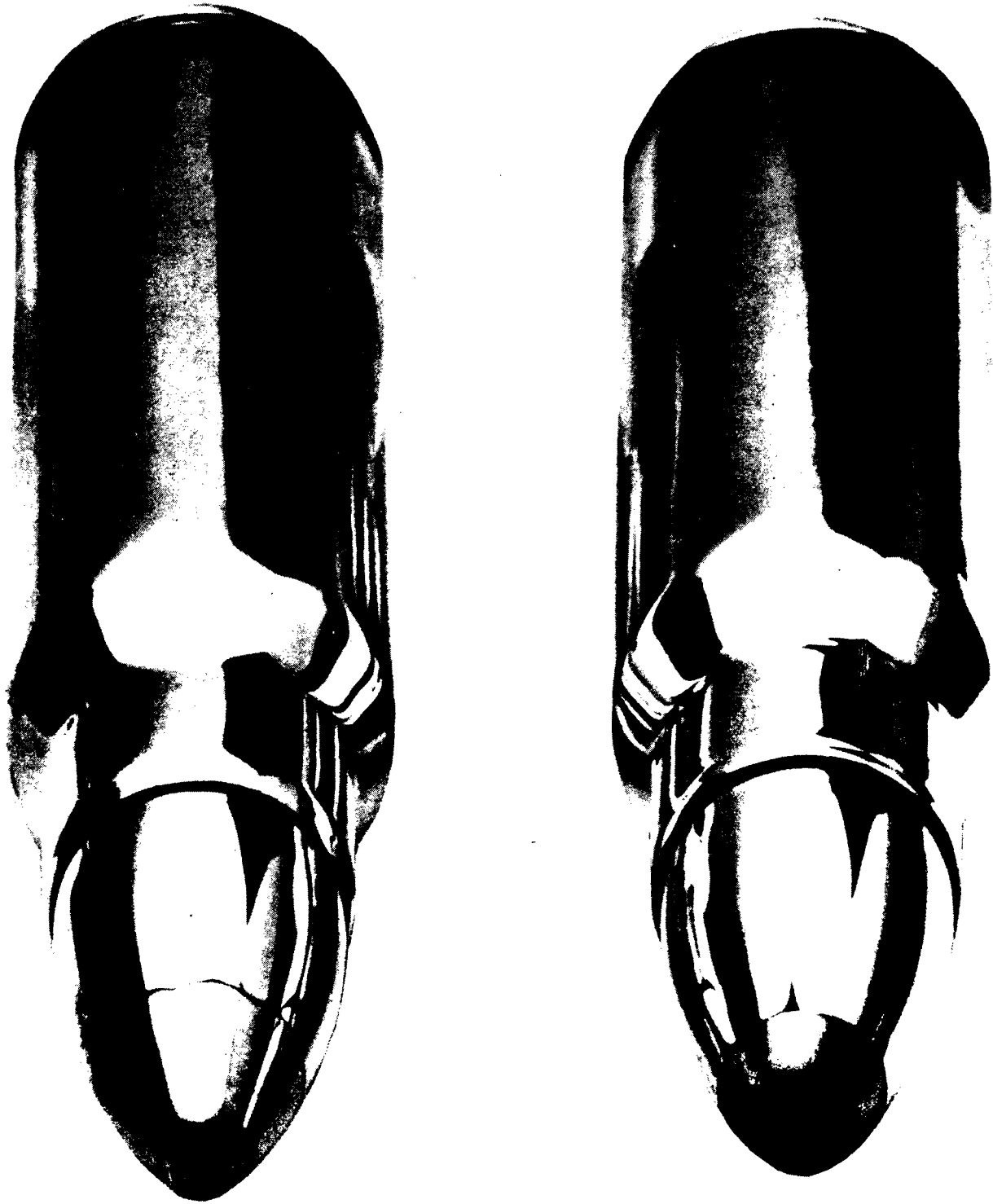


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AIR CANADA 



*Violence glorified in the U.S. by gunmen
in the five assassinations*

By MICHAEL DAVIE
London Observer Service, San Francisco

From Los Angeles to New York the air of the United States is full of generalizations about the violence of U.S. society. For now, as people here are just beginning to emerge from the shock and shame of Senator Robert Kennedy's death, they are asking questions about the assassination of five prominent Americans during the past five years: John Kennedy, Medgar Evers (the Negro civil rights leader who was ambushed and shot in Mississippi), Malcolm X, Rev. Martin Luther King and Senator Kennedy.

An explanation

The first question is whether there is any common factor here. One explanation would go as follows: the United States is a violent society, probably more violent than others; there is a cultural background of violence—steady diet supplied by television, movies and books; there is a gun cult, plus a tremendous mixture of different races; and there is a high rate of social resentment.

In such an atmosphere, a person with a grudge will be more likely—because guns are readily available, and because shooting people is fashionable and even glorified (Bonnie and Clyde, In Cold Blood)—to murder the object of his grudge.

Does this explanation fit the facts? Some would maintain that it doesn't. The victims were all representatives of what might broadly be called progressive leadership. No right-wing leader has been shot during the same period (for that curious figure on the extreme fringe, Lincoln Rockwell (U.S. Nazi leader), can scarcely be ranked in the leader class). This ratio of 5:0 is statistically significant. To argue that it is merely a coincidence that it is only the progressive leaders who have been shot stretches credulity too far. There must be some connection.

Right-wing hotbeds

Four of the five men, moreover, were shot in right-wing areas of the United States: John Kennedy in Dallas, which is notorious for its views; Mr. King in Tennessee; Mr. Evers in Mississippi; and Senator Kennedy in Los Angeles, which on the very day that he was shot had voted in the extreme conservative Mac Rafferty as Republican candidate for Senator and voted out the present liberal Senator.

From the interminable television coverage of the shooting here, one gathers that the conspiracy theory is running strongly in Europe. But does the connection between the murders have to be a conspiracy?

A distinguished California criminologist puts forward an original alternative theory. He declines to accept what he calls the simplistic notion that the whole culture is to blame; because if it were, then the victims would be equally distributed between Left and Right. Equally, he declines to accept the coincidence theory as being also too simplistic, and not explaining the statistically significant 5:0. Instead, he puts forward a "probabilistic theory", as follows.

The link between the murders is not conspiracy, he argues, but the social philosophy of simple remedies. U.S. society is dividing more and more, as the result of Vietnam, race riots,

etc. The left is going further left, the minority groups are becoming more and more cut off from other groups, the Right is going further right.

The Right especially believes in simple remedies: nuclear weapons to solve the Vietnam war; cutting student grants to stop student unrest; more and better-armed police to stop race riots; wider use of the death penalty to stop murders. The Left, on the whole, sees life as more complex. Now, of all simple remedies, assassination is the simplest: remove one man, and the problem will be solved. The murders, in the criminologist's theory, were connected to this extreme Right section of U.S. society, and infected by it—psychologically, possibly, in the cases of the two Kennedy murders and Malcolm X, and ideologically, no doubt, in the murders of Mr. King and Mr. Evers.

A bright theory

This explains the 5:0 ratio—which needs and explanation—without having recourse to a conspiracy theory. It's an idea, and a better one than most of the others being put forward.



Most people here seem to assume that the United States is in a specially deep trough of violence, and it may be so. The signs of violence do indeed seem to be everywhere, once one starts to look. The rate of murder—about the only crime that can be directly compared with crimes in other countries, because everyone's definition of murder is the same—is unquestionably very high. On the day Senator Kennedy was shot, two sailors were also shot in a Midwest bar. In Washington, the day after he was shot, they buried a youth named Tommy Williams, who was due to graduate next week from high school. Last Saturday night he was in Georgetown, the smart Washington suburb, with some friends who quarrelled with another group. A casual passer-by, a stranger to both groups, decided to restore order. He produced a gun and shot Williams four times.

Here in California there is a strange series of large-scale acts of sabotage against public utilities around San Francisco: pylons blown up; electricity cables severed. Three months or so ago, a man shot dead a neighbour's dog that was annoying him. More recently, elsewhere in the United States, another man was annoyed by a noise being made by a neighbour's son, and shot him.

Besides the acts of brutality and killing, violence seems to be in the air, possibly more than it is in other countries. A social worker, invited to attend an integrated junior high school, was alarmed to hear Negro children of 12 shouting, "We are slaves! We are slaves!" and to hear a Negro boy call to a white boy, "I'd like to kill a white man". In the industrial area of Oakland, across the bay from San Francisco, squads of militant Black Panthers nightly follow the police around the ghetto, to make sure they are not harassing Negroes. The police and the Black Panthers, who wear berets and dark glasses, are armed.

By now, this state is awash in guns, though the gun laws of California are stricter than those of many other states. A law-enforcement officer said last week that he had official knowledge of 2,600,000 guns in California, which works out to one weapon for every two or three adults. Not all those with guns intend to use them. One girl secretary at a university collects them, purely as decoration. The Panthers have them. There is a lot of hunting, as the Americans call it, up in the mountains of the state, for deer, duck, pheasant and rabbit. Governor Ronald Reagan collects guns: "I like guns," he says.

There is being advertised, at the moment, a replica of Buffalo Bill's rifle for just over \$100. When Senator Kennedy spoke in Oregon, during the recent primary election campaign there, the most hostile audience he faced was in an ordinary backwood town, and the question the crowd wanted answered was why he was supporting the gun control law before Congress. To some gun-owners, any suggestion that there should be more rigid control of arms seems an attack on the past, their heritage. That the virtues of the old West still survive in

the present day is an important idea for thousands of Californians to maintain: a clean ideal of self-reliance.

Felt helpless

These are the signs and symbols of violence. As for the causes, everyone has his own ideas. Here is a sociologist: "I wasn't expecting Kennedy's shooting, but I wasn't surprised. You know, I said 'Oh, gee, again.' I must confess I feel a sense of helplessness here. I look at the statistics, and I know that everybody else is better off: Japan, France, England—and I can sort of understand why. The United States is just harder on everybody. We still have 300,000 immigrants a year, and immigrants have a hard life: language, and where to live, and so on. And welfare services are much more disorganized than in most places, partly because everyone moves around.

"The United States is not a tidy place: you can do things in Europe you just can't do here. You read about social service in Europe and you can give people orders and put them into special housing projects where you check up on their homekeeping practices. You can't do that here: there'd be a revolution. And so the whole thing is much more disorderly.

"That's my sense of what it is . . . but obviously that's not the whole thing. There are these odd floaters, these crazy guys: the guy who killed the nurses in Chicago, the man who killed all those others in Austin. I suppose it's tied up with those detective stories in the Thirties—one is always amused at French detective movies, how they simply don't get the horror, the absolute sense that this guy could kill you at any minute, that you get out of a good American movie.

I remember one with James Cagney called *White Heat* about a crazy killer and he escapes—most of them are set in California and they have all escaped from San Quentin to the Sierras. Cagney in *White Heat*: that's the sort of guy you feel there is around here. But they're not immigrants, so why do they turn out that way?"

A psychologist: "There really is a long undercurrent of violence in U.S. life, idealized in the Western and in romanticized accounts of people who were really cruel and sadistic, like Jesse James and Bonnie and Clyde. Dillinger in the Depression was close to being a civic hero, and he killed and killed. Perhaps the veneer of civilization is a little thinner here. There is a desperate quality to U.S. life. Americans are often very enthusiastic: does that mask the desperation?"

An historian: "How far is violence a new social phenomenon? You know Rap Brown's statement that violence is as American as apple pie. That fits my intuition, though I can't say whether it's more than any other society. But we do have the whole frontier syndrome, and serious labor unrest till the Nineteen Thirties and the Civil War itself,

and Indian massacres: U.S. history is full of violent solutions.

"However, it's so easy to mouth generalizations. Everyone is doing it, the TV and the commentators, and they may be right, but I get a very uncomfortable feeling about giving them credence myself. Who knows what effect the Vietnam war is having on our society?"

History of violence

The violent past of the United States certainly feels near to the present, especially here on the west coast. It is not so very long ago that Kit Carson, en route to California with a wagon train, was awakened by a dreadful swish as the man asleep next to him was scalped. A hundred years ago, lynching by vigilante committees and street shootings were commonplace in San Francisco and Los Angeles. At the end of the last century, in a union struggle, seven members of the famous syndicalist Wobblies, the Industrial Workers of the World, were castrated. As late as July 5, 1934, on Bloody Thursday, two strikers, a longshoreman and a cook were shot dead by police during a battle in San Francisco.

On the national violence front, U.S. strikes are still extremely lengthy, which is a kind of violence. The Negro was kept down for centuries by the threat of violence. One could even make out a case for saying that the U.S. Constitution has a sort of violence built into it: a fundamental notion that the President and the Congress should and will clash, and that the correct answer to the nation's problems will arise from the collision.

Fear more killings

These are obscure questions. The immediate fear everywhere in the United States at the moment is that the five assassinations will be followed by another. As everyone knows, acts of violence in some fiendish way stimulate imitators—assassins as well as suicides—and there is a peculiar inverse glory to be had from murdering prominent public figures. The concentration of 100 million television sets on every detail in the life of a hitherto obscure Jordanian must be stirring a few envious thoughts across the country.

There is an ominous hint of possible dangers ahead in a statement by Governor Reagan. "This nation," he said, "can no longer tolerate the spirit of permissiveness that pervades our courts and other institutions."

Senator Kennedy and Senator Eugene McCarthy between them had managed to focus national attention on the real issues before the country: Vietnam, race, the alienated young, and the use of U.S. power in the world. They were treating the breakdowns of law and order as a symptom, not a cause, of a national malaise.

Now, however, a simplistic "stop the violence" call could be a very tempting big campaign slogan for both political parties.



The university research network: America's fourth armed service

By MICHAEL KLARE, NACLA
Liberation News Service

(Editor's Note: This essay is to be included in a forthcoming report with the same title to be published by The North American Congress on Latin America, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.)

The Military Unification Plan, drafted in 1947 by Clark Clifford during his service as special counsel to President Truman, established the present composition of the U.S. Military Establishment. The Plan separated the Air Force from the Army and established three military departments — Army, Navy, and Air Force — which were made subordinate to the centralized command structure of the Department of Defense.

The Plan identified three services. But a fourth, as crucial to the national defense as the others, was not given formal recognition. This service is the network of university laboratories and research institutes that constitute the University-Military complex.

Without the support of this Fourth Service, the United States would not have produced the atomic bomb, would not have produced the intercontinental ballistic missile, and would not have developed the counter insurgency strategy for intervention in Vietnam.

Until the present century, new weapons were developed by hit-or-miss experimentation, or through the continuous refinement of existing devices. It is only in the last three decades that instrumentalities of warfare have emerged from organized scientific investigations, in which the talents of many researchers are pooled in the quest for novel military systems.

The Manhattan Project of World War II was the prototype of such efforts — as its peak thousands of scientists were engaged in the various subtasks of the project without being aware of the final objective of their work. Subsequent ventures have required a comparable investment of manpower and resources, and there is every indication that this pattern of co-operative research will continue in the future.

For this reason the Defense Establishment has found it necessary to establish a group of research organizations, each capable of conducting large-scale "R&D" (research and development) activities in some field of interest to the military. Since the only reservoir of trained scientific manpower available for such work is the university campus, it was thus inevitable that the Pentagon should call upon the universities to collaborate in the foundation of a military research network.

The network was initially organized on a temporary basis, during the Second World War when many universities set up makeshift laboratories for weapons research. During the course of the War, a number of these laboratories became sizeable installations, employing thousands of scientists and technicians.

Working at such facilities, university scientists were responsible for many of the technological advances brought about under the pressure of war, including the atomic bomb, the proximity fuse, and modern radar.

These efforts were co-ordinated by the National Defense Research Committee, the first body of civilians to have an important policy function in the area of military research.

While most of the wartime university research was limited to the physical sciences, other disciplines — including the social and medical sciences — were also active.

Social scientists guilty too

The biologists expanded our arsenal of chemical and biological weapons; the anthropologists prepared manuals on the primitive societies whose islands and jungles we invaded; and the social scientists were active in the fields of intelligence, psychological warfare and military government.

In an unusually frank statement, the former Vice-President of Columbia University, Lawrence H. Chamberlain, recalled that during the war "at the same time that university science departments

were co-opted for purposes of war, the knowledge and skills of the social sciences and to a lesser extent the humanities departments were also considered for military service."

The World War II university laboratories had been organized on the premise of expediency, and were not intended to outlast the War. As victory approached, however, many of the participating scientists sought to prevent the dissolution of these installations.

The reasons for this are not difficult to determine: for the first time in American history, scientists and academicians had come to enjoy positions of considerable prestige and influence in Washington and at the Pentagon. Experiments that were prohibitive in cost before the war now had abundant government financing. Moreover, the establishment of large research organizations had freed many professors from the restraints of conventional academic procedure and permitted them to pursue their experiments without being accountable to their colleagues in tradition-minded university departments.

For some scientists, more interested in the application of their research to the "real world" of industry and national security than to the advancement of higher education, this development was most welcome.

In describing this phenomenon, Dr. Chamberlain noted that "the need for applying a blend of disciplines and skills to problems of little-known areas — for purposes of warfare, governmental administration, and diplomacy — precipitated the establishment of new research and instructional patterns because the conventional departmental structures were simply not adequate to meet the demands of the job." These new patterns, developed as a wartime expedient, would now become a permanent feature of campus life.

The unusual characteristics of the university laboratories — the concentration of scientific personnel under conditions of relative autonomy from regular university functions (that is, teaching) — also proved to be of advantage to the military. With the dawn of the Cold War, the Pentagon found itself with the task of "containing Communism" on a front that stretched from Berlin to Seoul.

As the former colonial powers of Europe became disengaged from their possessions in Africa, and Asia, the U.S. theatre of operations expanded to incorporate the defense of the new states on behalf of the "Free World." In many instances, this meant shoring them up from the threat of "internal disequilibrium," that is, from movements for national liberation.

These enormous tasks required an unprecedented expansion of the U.S. military establishment and of its ability to engage in unconventional warfare and counterinsurgency.

As a result, the Pentagon found it prudent to re-establish the network of university research organizations to cope with the many problems engendered by its new role of policeman to the world.

Feverish hysteria of cold war

The Cold War also provided a new impetus on the part of the universities to engage in defense work. Participation in military research not only allowed one to be part of the "stirring events of the time," but also, in the feverish days of Cold War hysteria, constituted a demonstration of one's loyalty.

When in 1967 a special faculty committee was established with the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), the strongest argument voiced in favor of continued affiliation was that such a tie "symbolizes a choice by the University to integrate itself into the life of the nation, to relate itself to the pressing problems of contemporary society, and to acknowledge its obligations to the defense of the society of which it is a part." (When the august professors spoke of "the pressing problems of contemporary society," they did not mean the alleviation of oppressive ghetto conditions.)

For this combination of reasons, scores of semi-autonomous military research organizations were created by American universities in the post-war period. Most of these institutions engage in research on military "hardware" — the equipment and weapons of conventional warfare.

Increasingly, however these installations are developing programs in military "soft-ware" — research in systems analysis, and the related technique of operations research, represents one of the most important postwar contributions of the university research network to military science.

With both of these techniques, complex phenomena are reduced to their component subsystems, each of which is then examined individually. Using computer simulation methods, the subsystems are brought to their most efficient operation (the process of "systems optimization"), and then the total system is re-assembled to perform at optimum output ("systems integration").

This methodology has been used to evaluate everything from missile propulsion systems to battlefield tactical doctrine. The concept of air-mobile cavalry division is one product of this mode of analysis, while the "all-purpose" F-111 aircraft is a less successful example.

"Human factors engineering" represents the application of systems analysis to the problems of getting optimum performance out of human beings (or, as the military likes to put it, our man/man and man/machine systems.)

Several organizations listed below are engaged almost exclusively in software re systems tot their studies of military hardware.

As military appropriations soared, ambitious researchers — many of them associated with the Defense Department as consultants — were able to secure substantial research contracts from the government. Most of these contracts went to the autonomous research organizations like Michigan's Willow Run laboratory and the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory which could satisfy the Pentagon's strict security requirements.

Today, some of these organizations enjoy the budget and facilities of a good-sized college. The University of California, for instance, operates the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory and the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory — installations which have a combined staff of 11,850 scientists, technicians and administrators, and an annual operating budget, in 1966, of \$265 million (an amount that exceeds the total endowment of all but a handful of the larger universities.)

Many scientists associated with these research organizations have been able to further augment their incomes by setting up defense-oriented "spin-off" industries which market the products developed in university laboratories.

Distinctions disappear

In fact, as one penetrates deeply into the university research network, the distinction between academic and non-academic functions disappears altogether. The trustee or administrator of a university research institute is more than likely the executive of a spin-off industry located in a nearby industrial park, and at the same time, a consultant to the Pentagon bureau which administers contracts in his field of research.

The independent "think-tanks" like RAND and IDA often act as the middleman in this consortium. Through such an arrangement, the government can buy top scientific talent while by-passing low civil service talents and avoiding accountability to Congress.

Defense industry corporations, whose executives often dominate the boards of trustees of the research institutes and think-tanks, gain access to classified information and have the opportunity to "evaluate objectively" the projects they are trying to sell to the government.

The universities, in return for their participation in the consortium, receive large research contracts and lucrative consulting fees for their professors.

Examples of this arrangement can be found on every large, research-oriented campus. Stan-

ford, with its wholly-owned subsidiary, the Stanford Research Institute (annual volume of research: \$60 million) and adjacent Stanford Industrial Park, could provide dozens of examples, as could MIT, Michigan, Johns Hopkins.

The "arrangement" is not, however, unique to these schools. The Director of Columbia's Electronics and Research Laboratory (ERL), Lawrence O'Neill, was at one time a professor and associate dean at the Columbia School of Engineering, a consultant to the Department of Defense and the Institute for Defense Analysis, and owner of Federal Scientific Corporation, a company set up to profit from research initiated at ERL. O'Neill now heads the Riverside Research Institute, an organization established last year to replace ERL and expand its Pentagon-financed operations.

The spirit of co-operation that characterizes the components of the U.S. military research network is not surprising when one discovers that more often than not the universities themselves are governed by men representing the corporations that stand to profit most from the university's research activities.

The board of trustees of almost any college or university seats at least one or two gentlemen associated with a major defense contractor, and in some cases the number will be much higher.

Returning to the example of Columbia, one finds five trustees with important positions in defense industries. Trustee William A. M. Burden, for instance, is a director of Lockheed Aircraft (the third highest U.S. defense contractor) and also chairman of the Institute for Defense Analysis. Burden is also a director of the Fair-

field Foundation, used by the CIA to channel over \$1 million to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a key instrument of intellectual cold-warism.

America's Fourth Armed Service, the university research network, is not represented at the Cabinet level with its own secretary. This Service, nonetheless, has its representative at the highest levels of policy formulation.

The Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), an elite organization responsible to the Director of Defense Research and Organization, maintains intimate ties with the university warfare laboratories, many of which hold contracts from ARPA.

Professional advisory board

Each of the other three Armed Services has as scientific advisory board composed of scientists and professors; the Secretary of Defense has his own advisory commission, the Defense Scientific Board, (DSB.)

The present chairman of DSB, Robert L. Sproull, is Vice-President and Provost of the University of Rochester and a former director of ARPA. Complementing these bodies is the President's Science Advisory Committee, which represents the Fourth Service in the White House.


Most of the relationships which link together the components of the university-military complex are informal, or the kind that go on behind the doors of closed meetings of the board of trustees.

Nevertheless, over the years, many of the university research organizations have acquired

a special relationship with the Department of Defense Information and Analysis Centres (DoDIAC's) or Department of Defense as Federal Contract Research Centres (FCRC's). These facilities are operated under on-going Pentagon contracts which oblige the universities to maintain continuous research activities in a particular field of interest to the military.

American University's Centre for Research in Social Systems, for example, is the FCRC responsible for research on counterinsurgency, while Penn State's Ordnance Research Lab is the FCRC engaged in research on torpedo design. In the last year, however, campus opposition to Vietnam-related warfare research has compelled a number of universities to re-examine their ties with the Pentagon. At Cornell, the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University warfare laboratories have been removed from university control and reorganized as autonomous non-profit research organizations using the RAND Corporation as a model. These changes, however, have not significantly altered the composition of the defense-research nexus: the "non-profits" provide a vital link between the Pentagon and the universities by hiring professors as consultants and part-time researchers, by sponsoring seminars and conferences which bring together military and university personnel, and by serving as a conduit for sensitive Pentagon contracts on the campus. The cohesion of the university-military complex, after all, depends not so much on formal arrangements as on its ability to funnel information to the Pentagon and money back to the Campus—a process at which our society is adept.

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COURSE PLANNING WEEK FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCE

1. The week of March 24-28 is designated as COURSE PLANNING WEEK for students in the Faculty of Arts and Science.
2. Students seeking advice regarding an honours, major or general programme for the 1969-70 session are urged to visit the departments concerned in order to plan their courses.
3. Departmental approval of honours programmes granted during this week will be tentative only because such approval will be conditional upon the required standing being obtained in the April 1969 examinations.
4. Students are urged to consult Calendar prescriptions for the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science before visiting departments.
5. Copies of academic records for students who have attended the University of Victoria prior to the 1968-69 session or who have been granted advanced or transfer credit upon admission can be obtained from the Registrar's office beginning on March 20th. These should be picked up before visiting departments.

Registrar.

Vandals stop UBC wallop Red Barons

Uvic men's field hockey team, the Vandals, playing under ideal weather conditions, defeated the UBC Braves 1-0 at Gordon Head field on Sunday. Bob Raine, Uvic's shifty right winger, fired his own rebound over the sprawling UBC goalie, to provide the winning margin. Several near misses by the Vandals forward line kept UBC in the game, but superb defensive work by the Vandals thwarted every attack launched by the Braves. Immediately following this exhibition match, the Vandals overwhelmed the Victoria Red Barons of the local league by a 7-2 score. Al Shaw led the way with the hat trick, while Rick Hoos and Bert Meek added two each. This win mathematically clinched first place for the Vandals in the Victoria men's league.

Uvic ski team produces wins

The Uvic Ski Team has been improving its quality. Bob Hill was victorious at the Okanagan Champs in Penticton last weekend.

Hill placed first in the slalom, and won the combined.

Rob de Grace did well in the Euquist Slalom at Mount Seymour in Vancouver. He placed fourth in the slalom.

This coming weekend Hill will be travelling to Grouse Mountain for the Pontiac Cup races which will be attended by the National "B" Team.

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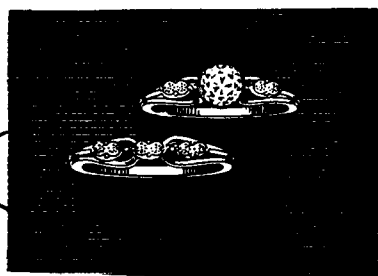
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—SCOTT TANNER PHOTO

Turning the corner, wing forward Van Pratt heads for daylight against powerful UCIA Golden Bears in varsity rugby action Tuesday. Team mates Neil Bonnell and Jim Henderson link up with hard-running Pratt for an offensive thrust against a tight, tough defence.

Injury-riddled Vikings bombed by Americans

An injury-riddled Viking rugby squad succumbed in the second half Tuesday as UCLA Bruins added another Canadian scalp to their belt with a bone-bruising 22-9 victory.

The American squad showed size and fitness on the field, but not much rugby savvy, and unfortunately the Vikings were more victims of circumstance than of a better team.

Still unrecovered from weekend action in the Victoria Rugby Union's city play-off and a Crimson Tide match at Vancouver, the Uvic squad looked impressive in rolling to a 9-6 half-time lead during a grim defensive struggle.

But with three regulars out of the line-up with injuries and most of the rest classed as walking-wounded, the California muscle began to tell in the second half.

Forwards just missed getting on the ball fast enough, didn't quite recover from down-field gallops, and were continually just a

hair from completing the tackles that usually provide Uvic's devastating cover defence.

And outstanding scrum-half Dave Slater was just a little slow in clearing passes and moving behind line-outs.

Despite the hurting scrum Uvic's backs, led by Dave Hutchings, Gary Johnston and Reg Hoole, managed some fine attacking moves against the Bears.

But rugby is a team game and a game of fractions, and it was the slight lack of polish that meant the difference as UCLA shook loose for a pair of cheap tries that netted 10 points.

Hutchings and Hoole finally got things rolling for Uvic with some savage running up the middle, and Johnston came through with a good performance defensively and added some hard running.

However, the Vikings only try, by Hoole off a series of brilliant tactical moves, was disallowed on a knock-on when the ball popped up in the air.

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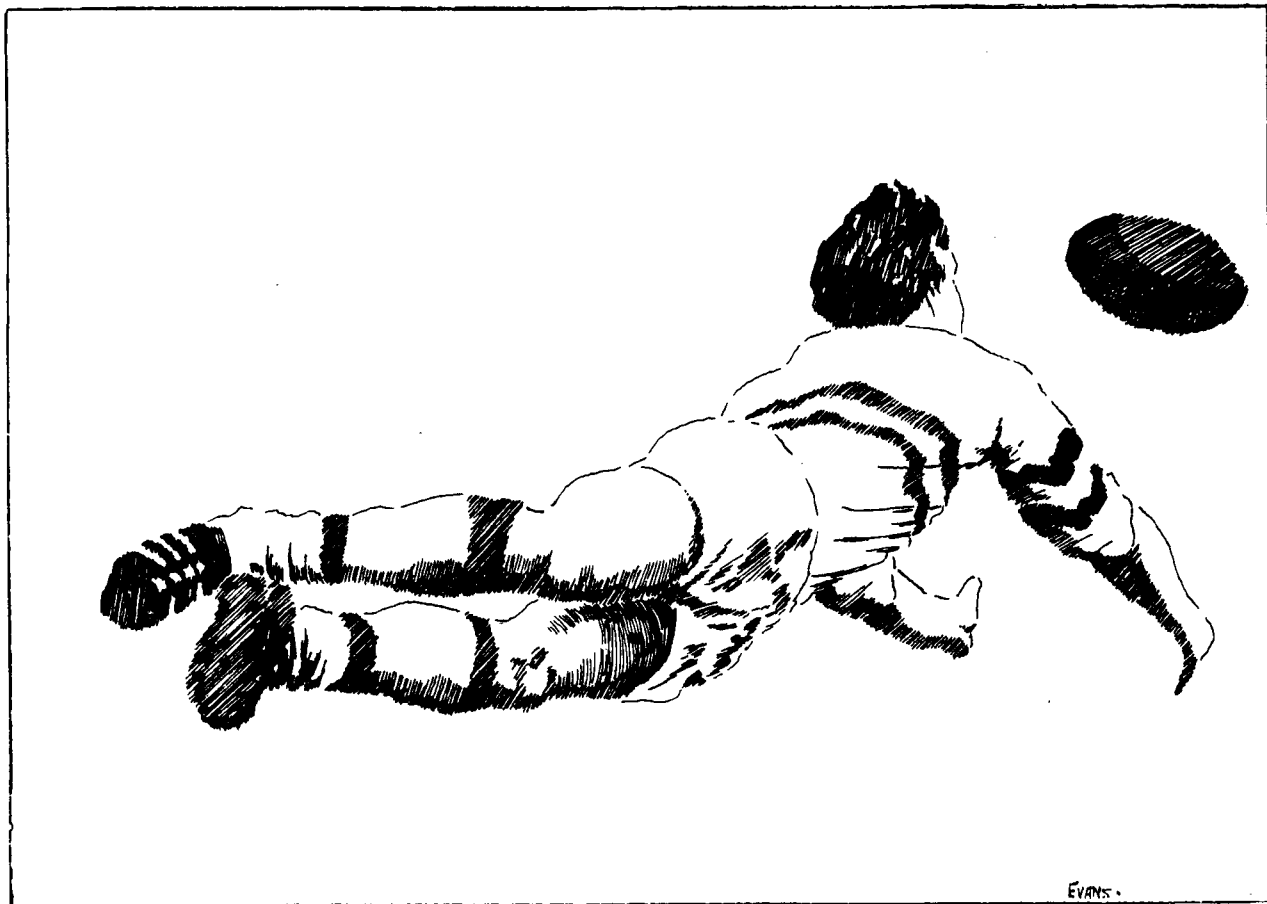
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- . . . You have or anticipate an overall grade point average of 2.00 (for Second and Third Year students) or 3.00 on your 21 units of Senior work (for Graduating classes),
- . . . You have a desire to teach children at any age from 6 to 12 years,
- . . . You can join a training program (probably in Prince George) for May and June and in Victoria for July and August at a cost of approximately \$250 (plus room and board),
- . . . You wish to earn at least \$400 a month during the remainder of your Teacher Education Program which would be completed by working (probably in Prince George) from September 1, 1969, to June 30, 1970, and by returning to Victoria for July and August, 1970 (an additional fee of approximately \$250 payable in January, 1970).

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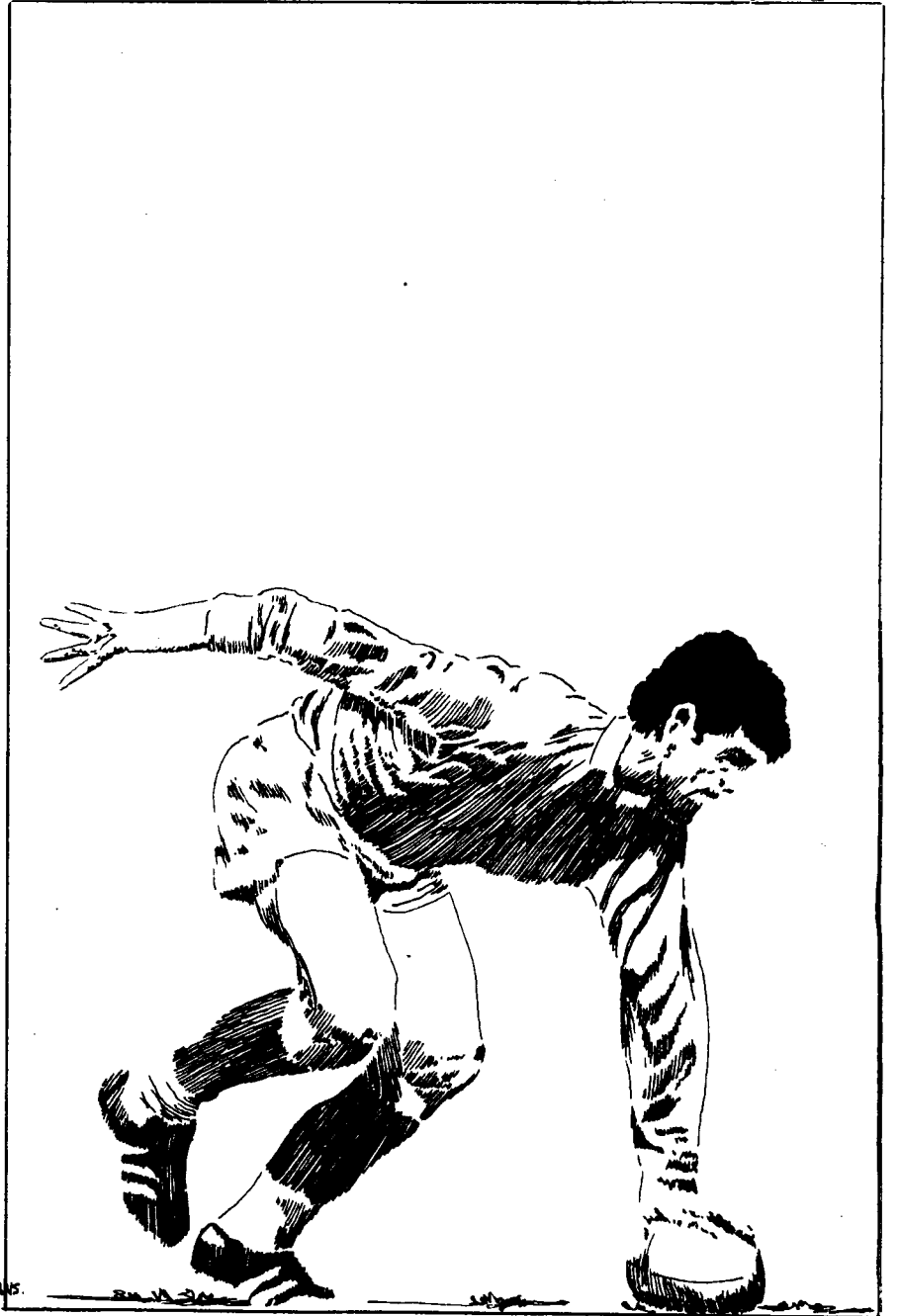


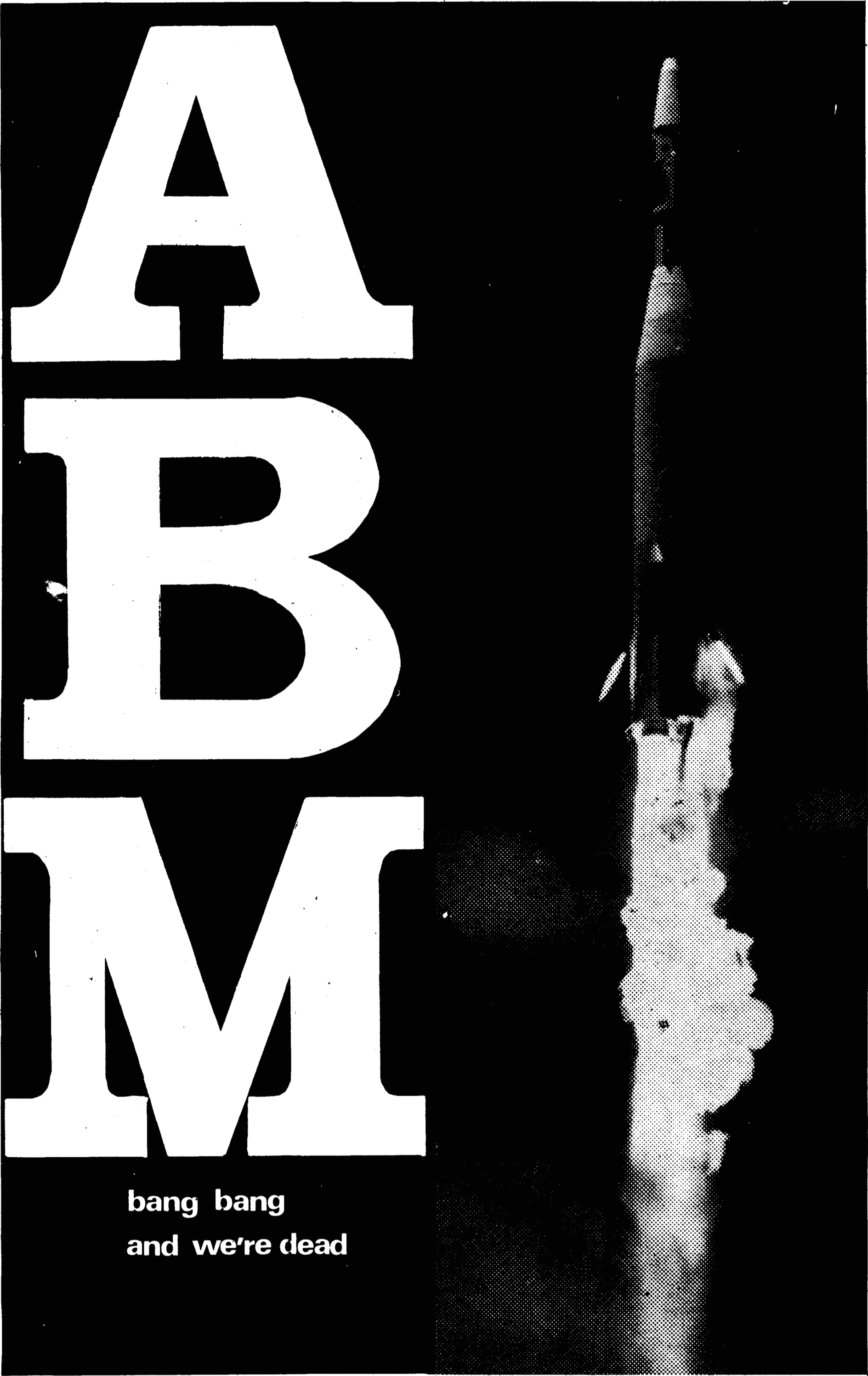
**rugby is
a violent game**

art by Leo Evans









**A
B
M**

**bang bang
and we're dead**

On Friday, March 14, 1969, United States President Richard Nixon announced that the government would build a "thin" anti-ballistic missile system. Many critics of the system argue that could well be the beginning of the end.

The following article was prepared by Allen Forbes Jr., vice-president of the Council for a Liveable World, a group primarily dedicated to opposing expansion of the arms race through informing the proper channels of the real importance of their decisions.

The Nike-X system

Nike-X is a dual system.

To provide an "area" defense it employs the 3-stage, long-range SPARTAN missile to intercept incoming enemy ICBM's (inter-continental ballistic missiles) at ranges up to several hundred miles, well beyond the earth's atmosphere.

A "point" (localized) defense is made by the high-acceleration SPRINT missile which intercepts in the lower atmosphere at distances from 6 to 25 miles during the last few seconds of the enemy missile's flight. SPRINT's function is to destroy attacking rockets which have successfully evaded SPARTAN. Its last-second intercept permits radars to "discriminate" between a real warhead and the "decoys" (false warheads) which burn up in the dense lower atmosphere.

SPARTAN and SPRINT are armed with nuclear warheads because they will miss incoming ICBM's by distances so great that conventional explosives would be useless. The two missiles are linked to advanced multiphase arrays radars and highspeed computers for target acquisition, tracking launching and guidance.

The Military packaged Nike-X into three convenient deployments: the "thin" China defense priced at \$3.5 billion; a "light" defense protecting 25 cities costing \$12.2 billion, and a "heavy" 50-city system at \$21.7 billion. The Johnson Administration chose the first. It consists of several hundred SPARTANS and a lesser number of SPRINTS. The SPARTANS provide an "area" defense of the entire country; the SPRINTS defend radars and some Minuteman ICBM bases.

The SPARTANS are distributed in several batteries below the Canadian border. PAR radars "acquire" incoming enemy missiles at ranges of 1,500 miles or more and the SPARTAN is launched to intercept high above the atmosphere over Canada hundreds of miles from United States soil. The thin China defense does not provide any SPRINT point defense of American cities.

The Pentagon has defined the function of the China ABM system as providing "a thin cover over the whole United States including all cities". The official evaluation of the system's effectiveness is that it "could probably preclude damage in the 1970's almost entirely" against what are called "simple attacks". By simple attacks the Pentagon means attacks by a very small number of missiles which do not have "penetration aids"—devices such as decoy warheads and "chaff" (clouds of tinfoil)—which confuse ABM radars.

One of the flaws in this optimistic evaluation of the effectiveness of the thin defense is that it gives the impression to the layman that Nike-X defends against all "simple" missile attacks. Unfortunately Nike-X is effective only against high-altitude delivery systems. It is possible to launch simple nuclear attacks using a number of "primitive" delivery techniques, some of which employ missiles. Against these systems Nike-X is of either minimal value or worthless.

China already possesses submarines and at least as early as 1966 tested a medium-range missile. A military expert recently wrote that the Chinese "now have submarines, they have fired short-range missiles and they would find it fairly simple to adapt these, or to build rather crude forms of sea-based missiles". China reportedly does not have a submarine-launched missile capability. However, it is possible that Chinese technicians could develop in the next few years some form of sea-based missile capability.

Existing anti-craft and anti-submarine systems will be used against these primitive delivery devices. In some cases with effectiveness and in others without. As a general rule all forms of delivery tend to complicate the task of the defense.

Many large holes

In a Confrontation between ICBM attacker and ABM defender the latter is at a distinct disadvantage. This is particularly true of the thin system, which requires that a very small ABM force be deployed over a vast area. Once an attack has been launched it is obviously impossible to redistribute the defense to meet the configuration of the attack.

China, on the other hand, is completely free to study the ABM defense at its leisure, analyze it for its weak spots, and then program the attack to saturate or overwhelm it. If the thin defense had a density factor of, say 50, i.e., if it could cope at any point with a maximum of only 50 enemy ICBM's then by firing 55 missiles at any given point in the defense the attacker could be virtually certain of destroying the target.

If the Chinese wanted to take out Washington, D.C., they could. If they wanted to get New York, they could. The same 55 missiles could probably get both Washington and New York.

Dr. M. M. May, director of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory in California, made this point clearly to members of the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee: "If you send over more offensive warheads than they have defensive warheads to shoot at you with, it won't be that effective."

Secretary McNamara said the same thing in his September 18th speech: "... any (ABM) system can rather obviously be defeated by an enemy simply sending more offensive warheads, or dummy warheads, than there are defensive missiles capable of disposing of them."

It does not seem reasonable to assume that Chinese leaders, if they build and deploy a missile force of 50 ICBM's and then discover that the density factor of the United States is exactly 50 also, are going to throw their missiles away as useless.

They will obviously build a few more which will enable them to penetrate our defenses, thereby making the thin system ineffective by the time it is deployed or shortly thereafter, unless it were to be expanded into a more complex system. If this were done it would undoubtedly trigger further Chinese efforts to penetrate it.

A more serious consequence of expanding the thin defense is that it would force the Soviets to improve their offensive capabilities — something they might not feel obliged to do if the thin defense remained thin.

The official view that the thin defense could prevent damage "almost entirely" is tempered somewhat by a Pentagon statistical table indicating that a Chinese attack of a certain magnitude which could, without ABM, inflict 10 million fatalities, would cause 1 million deaths even if the thick defense were deployed. If a false assumption went into that table it could cause the predictions of the effectiveness of the China defense to be off by a factor of five or more. This table was presented to Congress in January, by Secretary McNamara.

The China Defense is designed to defend against "simple" and unsophisticated attacks, that is attacks by only a few missiles without penetration aids. The same logic that applies to the determination of China's leaders to build a force large enough to penetrate ABM, also applies to penetration aids. To assume that Chinese scientists will not, indeed have not already, initiated a crash program to develop such devices would be irresponsible.

A nation need not possess a sophisticated technology or be affluent in order to produce simple, cheap and probably effective penetration devices. In fact, a "naive" but presumably effective penetration aid can be produced at virtually no cost and without any special technology by breaking up the delivery vehicle in such a way that it explodes into fragments which to a radar resemble warheads. Chinese scientists are probably already beyond this stage.

The Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Dr. J. S. Foster, told the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee that it was possible for a "sophisticated opponent to confuse the defense and make the firepower demands on SPARTAN too high".

In that case, Foster explained, it would be necessary to use the SPRINT missile for defense. The thin China system provides no SPRINTS for protection of cities. If the Chinese develop effective penetration aids they can probably exhaust SPARTAN and hit any cities they wish. If they are sophisticated enough to build ICBM's they should be able to design and produce reasonably efficient penetration devices.

Is it any good?

The Thin System can probably afford complete protection against the accidental or unauthorized launch of a few missiles—at least missiles not equipped with good penetration devices. It could also provide a degree of protection against small numbers of ICBM's say 25, the sort of force the Chinese would have in the first 18 to 24 months of their deployment program. In the mid-1970's the Chinese could have 100-150 weapons. Against an attack of that size the thin defense would look very thin indeed.

The discussion earlier on overwhelming SPARTAN was based on the assumption, highly favorable to the defense, that all attacking Chinese missiles would be successfully intercepted if their number in any target area did not exceed the density factor of the thin defense.

This assumption is incorrect. However, it has gained general acceptance because it has been stated so often by experts such as Dr. May and Secretary McNamara.

Actually, there is a finite chance that any given ICBM will penetrate any ABM defense. Assuming an ABM kill probability—the probability that a single SPARTAN will intercept a single incoming Chinese ICBM—of the order of 80%, the probability of a 100% successful defense are very low indeed.

A Chinese attack with 35 ICBM's fired at a SPARTAN battery with a missile force of 50, would have a 98% chance of hitting at least one U.S. city. Even with a force as small as 20 missiles launched at the same SPARTAN battery the Chinese would have one chance in four of destroying a target. 50 Chinese missiles fired against 50 SPARTANS would hopelessly overwhelm the defense and China would have a high probability of hitting a number of cities.

An unofficial rationale for deployment of the China defense is that the Chinese, as soon as they have a small operational ICBM force, will hurl it against the United States in a first strike.

Richard Russell, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, called China a "mad dog among nations" when demanding "immediate" deployment of a thin defense in an interview given in July 1967. To some Americans China's leaders may appear unduly irrational at this moment and China's internal affairs may well be in exceptional disarray, but to base momentous national decisions, if we are doing that, on an assumption that in the early or mid-1970's China will launch a pathetic handful of ICBM's at the United States in the full knowledge that moments later it will sustain a devastating retaliatory barrage from America's vast nuclear arsenal, destroying cities, populations and industry—this in itself is a somewhat irrational attitude.

A more plausible explanation for China's ICBM program is that it fears a United States first strike and would like to be in a position to deter it, something it cannot do today. China, after all, is totally at the mercy of our nuclear strike forces—SAC bases in Thailand and Guam, tactical nuclear bases in South Vietnam, Thailand and Laos, carrier-based bombers in the Tonkin Gulf, the North China Sea, the Straits of Formosa, and a fleet of Polaris submarines along her coasts, not to mention Minuteman ICBM's based in the United States.

Safety in power

If under these conditions China's leaders believe they require a small number of ICBM's to deter us—they need not be regarded as wildly irrational. The United States possesses today vis-a-vis China a Perfect First Strike Capability; that is, we are able to devastate China without being touched. This enables us to deter China from any activities in Southeast Asia which might be displeasing to us, and it also shields us from Chinese obstruction of those of our activities in Southeast Asia which might be displeasing to them.

China's leaders could not be blamed if they assumed that the United States, in deploying the thin defense to counter China's miniscule retaliatory force, was more concerned to maintain its Perfect First Strike Capability than to protect its urban population. In an interview shortly after his San Francisco speech Secretary McNamara said as much. "There has been lingering doubt in some Asian countries that if China in a few years were able to reach the United States with an ICBM, we would be deterred from taking actions that might risk a Chinese attack." It sounds very much as if Massive Retaliation—that Rasputin of strategic doctrines—was still around.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the decision to deploy the China defense is that it was taken not for over-riding military, strategic or national security reasons but because of domestic considerations directly related to the Presidential election.

The news in June 1967 that China had tested its second thermonuclear weapon brought from many of America's most powerful political leaders and from the military an instantaneous demand to deploy ABM.

As far as can be ascertained not a single high-ranking individual from our political, diplomatic or military ranks suggested that, before deploying, the United States make a serious effort to settle its outstanding differences with China, or that we probe the sincerity of her 1966 offer to negotiate a mutual No First Strike pledge. Nobody has been heard to propose that we re-examine our China policy of isolation and containment, that we refrain from impeding China's trade with our allies, that we cease to oppose her entry into the UN, that we ourselves might even try to resume trading with her.

We have provided the world with a paradigm of curing the darkness: Apparently it did not even occur to us to light a candle.

More more more

Even before secretary McNamara had arrived in California to make his speech announcing the ABM decision the Congressional lobby was calling for the heavy defense and denouncing the thin program as "too little and too late". For them the thick defense is only a stepping-stone to bigger things. It is necessary, therefore, to examine not only the anti-China defense but the large anti-Soviet system as well.

Opponents have criticized the latter on grounds that it was not effective, that its cost estimates were grossly underestimated, that it would intensify the arms race, that it would destabilize international relations, that it would upset the balance of deterrence, that it would be a roadblock to further arms control and disarmament agreements, and that it could lead to a national deep shelter program of considerable magnitude, which might even change drastically the quality of American life.

Since these questions are customarily discussed only in Congressional hearings or military conferences and only rarely come to the public's attention, it may be useful to examine them here and provide answers as given by the expert witnesses called to testify before Congress. Unless otherwise noted the quotations throughout Part Two are taken from the hearings before the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 90th Congress, First Session, February and March, 1967.

The official price-tag of the China defense is \$3.5 billion; that of the light defense is \$12.2 billion, and the heavy system \$21.7 billion. That these estimates are unrealistic came out clearly in the hearings:

SEC. VANCE: *I think those are very low estimates and the actual costs would probably be 50-100% of those (i.e., more than those), based upon actual experience with the procurement of entirely new weapons systems in the past.*

The costs . . . if past experience is any guide, may be understated by 50-100% for the systems as a whole—of Posture A and Posture B (the light and the heavy systems).

Deputy-Secretary Vance brought out a vital point:

SEC. VANCE: *Because of . . . the very rate at which the technology changes, to maintain an effective system one would essentially have to turn over the whole system, the whole \$20 billion system every few years. I do not believe that we would do this. As a consequence, I am afraid we would have a heavy deployment of a system most of which was obsolete, made obsolete by changes in the enemy's offense.*

This means that the 10-year cost of the light 25-year system will be on the order of \$50 billion and for the heavy 50-city defense it will perhaps reach \$87 billion or more. These figures make no allowance for various Nike-X ancillary programs—air defense, anti-submarine warfare, blast and thermal shelters. One recognized expert has stated that the cost of a blast shelter program for urban populations would be comparable to the cost of a major ABM deployment.

Nike-X has never had full-dress testing under simulated combat conditions. The partial test ban treaty of 1963 limited Nike-X weapons to underground testing. Nike-X remains today—after the decision to deploy has been taken—largely a paper system. This is true not only because it has not yet been adequately tested but also because many of its radars have not yet reached the prototype stage. The record of failures with new weapons systems far less complex than Nike-X, which either were not or could not be tested prior to combat, suggests that Nike-X might fail disastrously in an actual nuclear exchange.

The effectiveness of a heavy anti-Soviet system was thoroughly discussed during the Disarmament Subcommittee hearings.

If the Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, a Commissioner of the Atomic Energy Commission, two Directors of government atomic laboratories, and the Defense Department Director of Research and Engineering qualify as credible witnesses, there can be little doubt but that the effectiveness of the anti-Soviet system has marked limitations.

The key issue, however, is not whether the heavy ABM can defend against today's Soviet ICBM's, but whether it can defend against the new Soviet missiles it could be facing when it is finally deployed about 1973.

By then both the Soviet Union and the United States may have replaced present missiles with MIRV—the multiple independent re-entry vehicle. A single rocket armed with a MIRV warhead will be able to deliver several individual thermonuclear bombs, each on a separate target, probably assisted by the latest penetration aids.

Secretary McNamara has said "The optimistic statements made by ABM proponents haven't taken

such things as MIRV's fully into account. . . . Both our missile defense system and theirs were designed before MIRV's came along." Nike-X now is in much the same position as the ill-fated Nike-Zeus system was in 1959—obsolete before deployment.

Paying high prices

If Nike-X had an unequivocal capability of saving lives there would have been no opposition to deployment. The real question about Nike-X—which is never asked—is not how many lives it will save, but whether it is not likely to cause a greater number of fatalities than if it had not been deployed.

General Wheeler, representing the Joint Chiefs, stated the position of the military in these words: "The 30, 40, or 50 million American lives that could be saved by Nike-X, therefore, are meaningful, we believe, in every sense of the word." Secretary McNamara, Deputy Secretary Vance, and Dr. Foster took an entirely different view of the life-saving capability of Nike-X. They presented to the Subcommittee two statistical tables.

The first demonstrated that if the United States deployed the light defense system, as many as 80 million lives could be saved in the event of a Soviet first strike *provided the Russians did not respond to our ABM deployment by increasing their offensive missile forces.* The second table gave the American casualties if the Soviets did increase their forces—the total was 120 million dead, *precisely the same number that would have been killed if ABM had not been deployed.*

The Joint Chiefs cling to the opinion that the Soviets would probably not respond to United States deployment by increasing their offensive forces. General Wheeler told the Subcommittee that economic and technical expenditures necessary to counter Nike-X might be beyond the capacity of the Soviet Union. They would have to pay a "high price". Wheeler said, to overcome ABM.

The civilian side of the Pentagon took the opposite view—

DR. FOSTER: *It is inconceivable to me that we could deploy such a heavy defense and not have the Soviets take measures which would minimize its effectiveness.*

SEC. VANCE: *We believe that Soviet Union would be forced to such a deployment by increasing its offensive nuclear forces with the result that . . . the damage to the United States from a Soviet nuclear attack, in the event deterrence failed, would not be reduced in any meaningful sense . . . deployment by the United States of an ABM defense which would degrade the destruction capability of the Soviet's offensive force to an unacceptable level*

would lead to an expansion of that force. This would leave us no better off than we were before.

The attractive proposition that Nike-X will save lives is based almost entirely on the questionable premise that the Soviet Union would permit the United States to undertake a major ABM program, thereby reducing substantially the Soviet retaliatory capability, without making any effort to redress the balance. The Joint Chiefs rationalize their opinion with the assumption that the Russians really could not afford to increase their forces. This is much the same view as that which maintains the Chinese will not be able to design penetration aids.

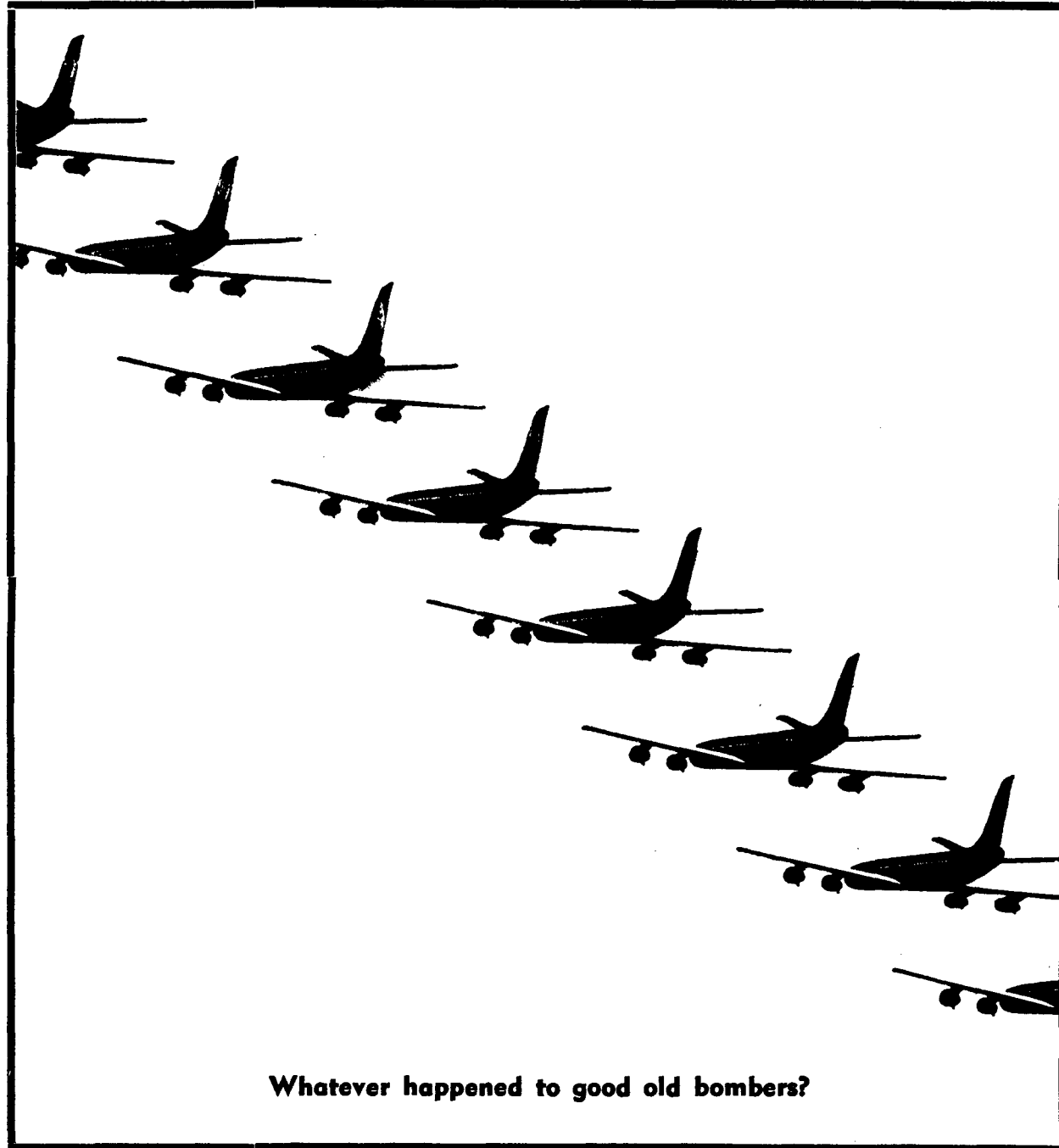
It is particularly surprising to hear from the Joint Chiefs that the Russians would not increase their offensive forces to maintain their threatened deterrent capability inasmuch as it is from precisely their offices in the Pentagon that originate countless news releases warning of the latest Soviet progress in building more missiles, of improvements in penetration aids, of ABM's around Moscow, of the ABM capabilities of the Tallinn defense line. Reports of this type are constantly leaked to journalists covering the Pentagon.

Had the United States been able to negotiate with the Soviet Union an agreement to deploy ABM systems in the context of a "freeze" on offensive forces or, preferably, a reduction of forces-in-being, then ABM deployment would undoubtedly mean millions of lives saved in the event deterrence failed. But with massive increases in offensive ICBM forces equipped with the latest and most sophisticated penetration aids, ABM does not look as if it is going to save many lives; and it is not an impossibility, if offensive forces reach unreasonable levels, as they now threaten to do, that deployment of antiballistic missile defenses could increase fatalities above the pre-ABM level.

The chain reaction

In his San Francisco speech, Secretary McNamara left no doubt in his listeners' minds that an anti-Soviet deployment would have an adverse effect on the nuclear balance and on the arms race.

A heavy defense, he said, would not only fail to provide adequate protection against a Soviet attack but would instead be "a strong inducement for the Soviets to vastly increase their own offensive forces . . . and so the arms race would rush hopelessly on." On no other issue is the split between the Joint Chiefs and the civilian side of the Pentagon so sharp. As one of his five reasons for recommending Nike-X, General Wheeler, on behalf of the Chiefs, said that it would "stabilize the nuclear balance".



Whatever happened to good old bombers?

Deputy Secretary Vance has said that the basis of the United States deterrent is its ability to "destroy the attacker as a viable 20th-century nation". This he defined as the destruction of "one-fifth to one-half of the population and one-half to two-thirds of its industrial capacity . . ." The official terms is "Assured Destruction". Vance added: "We believe the Soviet Union has essentially the same requirements for a deterrent or 'assured destruction' force as the United States." In the September speech McNamara spelled it out: "We can be sure that we are both (United States and Soviet Union) going to maintain a maximum effort to preserve an assured destruction capability . . . we can be certain (if we deploy a heavy ABM system) that the Soviets will react to offset the advantage we would hope to gain . . . we must measure our own response in such a manner that it does not trigger a senseless spiral upward of nuclear arms."

Since 1963 the arms race has been marked by relative stability. However, when the Soviets deployed an ABM system around Moscow the response in the United States was to deploy a thin system across the entire country and to develop new "generations" of ICBM's with highly sophisticated penetration aids. The Soviet Union is now increasing its offensive forces and there is already considerable political pressure in this country to go beyond the modest thin defense to a much larger deployment against the Soviet Union.

When the U.S. MIRV system becomes operational in four or five years, the number of thermonuclear warheads in our offensive missile forces will increase from the present total of 1,710 to 7,500 or more. In view of these ominous developments within such a relatively short time span, the claim of the Joint Chiefs that Nike-X will stabilize the nuclear balance has been shattered as thoroughly as the balance itself.

With ABM deployment the arms race, until now in a single dimension, has become a three-dimensional contest in offensive weapons, defensive systems, plus a feverish technological effort aimed at scoring qualitative breakthroughs. The meaning of this new and highly lethal phase of the arms race is that as each side deploys new ICBM's with ever more ICBM's in its turn, neither can be certain at any moment that it has not lost, if only temporarily, its Assured Destruction capability. In short, it may fear it can no longer deter the other from a first strike.

Russia and the United States will view each other with constant mistrust and suspicion; tension will replace detent; an action which under less tense circumstances would appear innocuous might seem extremely threatening, in fact, might even be interpreted as indicating an incipient first strike. Forces-in-being will be at much higher levels than they are now; this could mean that fatalities in the event of a nuclear war would be greater than if ABM had not been deployed. In this new climate of hostility and insecurity the "gap psychosis" will further increase instability. Both military and civilian leaders will be afraid of a deterrent gap, an ICBM gap, a civil defense gap, an ABM gap, a technological gap, and it is likely that every move they make will over-compensate for a suspected gap in any of these areas.

If the military wished to stabilize the nuclear balance they could have proposed a different ABM deployment. Nike-X, if it were emplaced around missile bases rather than cities, would in all probability have a stabilizing effect on deterrence.

A nation launching a first strike would obviously have to aim it at the enemy's missile bases, not his cities. The retaliatory strike is aimed at cities; its purpose is to make the country which struck first pay an unacceptably heavy price. By deploying ABM to protect its civilian population a country is reducing the Assured Destruction potential of the other side thus making its own first strike more feasible. The larger and more effective a nation's ABM defense the more threatening it would appear and the better the position it would be in for launching a first strike. But by deploying ABM only around its missile bases a nation would increase its retaliatory second strike capability, making it much more dangerous for another country to launch a first strike against it.

There is no more convincing proof of the destabilizing effect of ABM than the statement to the Disarmament Subcommittee by General Wheeler that ". . . it's also the view of the Joint Chiefs that regardless of anyone's feelings about the situation in Vietnam, we think it quite clear that we would have had even more hesitation in deploying our forces there, had the strategic balance not been in our favor."

That statement cuts close to the bone. The General is saying that in order for the United States to be able to carry out its self-appointed role as policeman for Asia and other parts of the world, in order to fulfill our "commitments" to defend first this country and then that, we need something like a First Strike Capability. Surely that is what the Joint Chiefs mean when they claim that Nike-X will "stabilize the nuclear balance".

Another of the General's five reasons for recommending Nike-X is even more revealing: Nike-X deployment, he told the Senators, would "introduce uncertainties which would inhibit Soviet leaders from concluding that . . . the United States would not pre-empt under any circumstances." To pre-empt means to strike first.

Nike-X, like its abortive predecessor Nike-Zeus, has not been tested adequately. The radars are not yet ready, and the warheads have only been tested underground because of the partial test ban treaty of 1963.

Perhaps it will be possible to install the thin China defense without great pressure being placed on the Administration to test NikeX in the atmosphere, but it is inconceivable that the larger deployments will be emplaced without an overwhelming demand for full and complete tests of the entire system. This would very likely lead to breaking the test ban treaty.

Nike-X will not only jeopardize past arms control accords; it is certainly not going to create the sort of world climate in which we can look forward with confidence to new agreements. Negotiations on the crucial non-proliferation treaty have already been disrupted by plans to deploy the thin defense. The secretary-general of NATO, Manlio Brosio, announced at a news conference the day after Secretary McNamara's speech that a European ABM defense was "under consideration in the alliance". Future arm control measures, for instance a "freeze" or a reduction of ICBM forces, are not going to be speeded up by Nike-X.

The military state

Nike-X deployment means that civil defense will soon become a major national program.

General Wheeler told the Disarmament Subcommittee that the present total of shelters for 153 million people will be increased to "around 250 million", doubling the fallout program costs from \$8 billion to \$1.6 billion over the next four years. But the fallout shelter is only the beginning. It is to civil defense what the thin ABM deployment is to the heavy anti-Soviet system.

Even before Secretary McNamara announced the decision to proceed with the thin China defense, the same men who had forced its deployment began calling for a heavy defense. The chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Senator Pastore, called the Administration's decision "a step in the right direction" which would lead to "an over-all system against the Soviet Union". Washington's Senator Jackson said it was not solely a Chinese problem, but must include a capability to "blunt" a Soviet strike.

There is nothing subtle about these tactics: they are the sledgehammer type and there is no political deployment that can defend against them. One does not have to be clairvoyant to predict a further Administration capitulation on the heavy defense, perhaps even before the China system has been installed. The technique that makes this inevitable was explained by General Wheeler to the Senators:

GEN. WHEELER: *These (ABM) costs could be exceeded by perhaps 50% or even 100% . . . the demands of the people for heavier defenses in other areas, would inevitably increase the costs ultimately to something like \$40 billion.*

SEN. GORE: *In other words, if St. Louis is to be defended, then Kansas City must be.*

GEN. WHEELER: *That is right, sir.*

SEN. GORE: *And Memphis.*

GEN. WHEELER: *That is right, sir.*

Eventually we will end up with a "super-heavy" defense of every American city of over 50,000 population. The men who so successfully "marketed" Nike-X on the grounds that it would save lives and stabilize the nuclear balance, who assured us that the Soviets would not increase the size of their offensive forces, will suddenly warn the public that in view of the enormous increase in Soviet ICBM's the tense state of world affairs and the instability of deterrence, the nation must move quickly to build blast and thermal shelters to protect its people.

In the opinion of a distinguished physicist, Dr. Freeman Dyson of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, J.J., who has served as consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission, the Defense Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, a massive civil defense program will require extensive participation of the civilian population in quasi-military activities.

He sees the United States being turned into what military strategists call a "hard society". The term "hard society" Dyson defines as hardening a whole population "in a spirit of unquestioning obedience in order to withstand a nuclear attack, much as a missile silo is hardened by encasing it in a certain thickness of concrete".

Dr. Dyson's fears are far from fantasy. In 1958 the RAND Corporation published a paper entitled "Some Specific Proposals for Achieving Early Non-Military Defense Capabilities and Initiating Long-Range Programs". It is merely a list of suggestions for research projects in civil defense, but it well

worth-reading for the candid and sombre insight it gives into the sort of civil defense programs which may be in store for Americans. Among the suggestions are:

MINES AS PERSONNEL SHELTERS: \$1 million, 2-90 day occupancy.

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PSYCHIATRIC STUDIES: \$200,000: *A study would be made of the preparation for family separation and of shelter techniques for handling this problem.*

STUDIES OF VERY AUSTERE SHELTERS AND LONG OCCUPATIONS: (\$1.5 million): *A study should be made of the survival of populations in environments similar to overcrowded shelters (concentration camps, Russian and German use of crowded freight cars, troop ships, crowded prisons, crowded lifeboats, submarines, etc.)*

Some useful guiding principles might be found and adapted to the shelter program. Research projects might include: Study of available information that might suggest both reasonable standards and limits of human endurance, the latter to be used to determine overcrowding tolerances and for defining the early capability needed in personnel shelter studies (\$200,000). Investigation of the use of sedation and chemical tranquilization for long periods and for possible use in shelters (\$800,000).

SOCIAL PROBLEMS (Excerpt): ". . . Prolonged confinement in shelters will unavoidably produce emotional stress. Various measures (work therapy, sedation, recreation, segregated activity, or discipline areas, etc.) ought to be studied and prepared in order to maintain shelter discipline, to lessen the mental strain and to minimize the incidence of psychological after-effects."

FOOD PROBLEMS (Excerpt): "*Survival and emergency rations used by the Armed Forces are costly and are not designed to be used by a population for survival. An army survival ration costing 75 cents per person per day would mean a total ration cost of \$150 million per day. Based on a minimum cost diet, a suitable shelter ration might cost no more than 40 cents per person per day, a saving of almost 50% which would certainly make research in this area worthwhile.*"

There has been talk on and off of other schemes like "Evacuation Cities" which are a . . . of second underground city to which urban populations could be removed in times of acute crisis like the 1962 Cuban missile confrontation, the idea being that the first country to put its urban populations underground would be in a better strategic and bargaining position than the one which had not.

There are serious implications for such basic liberties as the right to travel freely; some experts fear that civil defense regulations will require identity cards, travel permits, surveillance. The effect on already blighted ghetto cities can be imagined.

Horizon of horror

The question is asked repeatedly—Nike-X may not be very good but isn't it better than nothing? If it saves only ten American lives isn't it still worth \$5 billion? But what if Nike-X costs ten lives that would not have been lost had it not been deployed? That question is not asked.

If Nike-X disrupts the nuclear balance disastrously, if it accelerates the arms race, increases world tensions, rigiments American society, and is not effective—is it then better than nothing? As stated above, if Nike-X were deployed only around missile bases in the context of a reduction in offensive forces with, perhaps, a very small SPARTAN defense to protect against accidental or unauthorized launch of one or two ICBM's there might be good reason to believe that it was better than nothing. But on the basis of the evidence supplied by experts, it appears more likely than not that Nike-X will turn out to be a disaster for the American people.

It is an attempt to solve essentially non-military problems—protecting people and reducing the danger of war—with a purely military solution. From the military its is reasonable to expect a solution like Nike-X. It is less understandable why politicians should lend it such wholehearted support; their principal commitment should be to an entirely different set of references.

The American people must be clear on one point: By deploying ABM the United States has turned its back on a more stable and livable world and is heading straight toward what Secretary McNamara on September 18th, 1967, so aptly called an "horizon of horror". The holocaust the whole world fears is now that much closer.

During the Disarmament Subcommittee hearings an exchange took place between Deputy Secretary Vance and some Senators. They had been discussing the possibility that China could destroy 20 American ports by having cargo vessels release nuclear bombs in them before leaving for the sea:

SEN. GORE: *This is a frightening world.*

SEC. VANCE: *It is a frightening world, Senator; I agree.*

SEN. SPARKMAN: *It becomes more so as we move along.*

SEC. VANCE: *It does indeed.*

Reprint: the Chevrol

happenings to happen

Poetry Reading

MARGARET ATWOOD

Margaret Atwood was born in Ottawa in 1939, and has lived in Northern Quebec and Ontario, Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal, and Cambridge, Mass. She is a graduate of the University of Toronto (Victoria College) and has an M.A. from Radcliffe. She has been, at various times, a puppeteer, an archery assistant at the Sportsman's Show, a market researcher, a coffee shop cashier, and a teacher of English in Canadian universities.

Her first book, *The Circle Game* (1966) won a Governor-General's Award. Her second collection, *The Animals in that Country*, appeared in

1968, and contains the poems for which she was awarded First Prize in the Centennial Commission Poetry Competition.

Thursday, March 27th at 4:30 p.m. in Cl.-203.

Water Polo

The winner of the Water Polo Club raffle is Pat Clark, 2101 Richmond.

Chem Seminars

Mr. Arnold Glasel, University of Victoria, "Interferometric Holography" Thursday, March 20, 1969, 4:30 p.m. Room 160 Elliot Bldg.

Mr. J. W. Owen, University of Victoria, "Applications of Instrumental Techniques to Some Booranes and their Derivatives," Monday, Mar. 24, 1969, 4:30 p.m. Room 160, Elliot Bldg.

Dr. H. M. Frey, U. of Reading, England, "Recent Developments in Chemical Kinetics," Wednesday, Mar. 26, 1969. Room 160, Elliot Bldg.

VCF

Panel on "Genesis and Inspiration" with two professors, a minister and a couple of students. 12:30 Tuesday, April 1 in SUB Clubs A, B, C.

Film

See it and figure it out! "The Parable." To be shown on Friday, Mar. 28 at 12:30 in Elliot 167.

Math Colloquiums

March 28 at 4 p.m. in McLaurin, Room 541. Professor

A. Meir of the University of Alberta will speak on "Some Results in Distance Geometry."

March 24, at 4 p.m. in McLaurin, Room 541. Professor W. A. J. Luxemburg of the California Institute of Technology will speak on "What is Nonstandard Analysis?"

Uvic Kite Festival

Due to poor weather last Saturday the 1st Annual Kite Festival will be held this Saturday, Mar. 29. Rain or Shine! Registration on walk to Clearihue Bldg. Important that you register since some

of contest will take place at this time. Band: "As Sheriff," 1 to 4, SUB lawn. Refreshment: On sale at SUB and on lawn in front of SUB. Kite Hospital: For any minor repairs there will be supplies on hand near SUB entrance. Contests: Age 12 and under: 2:30, Funniest Kite; 3:00: Most Artistic Kite; 3:30: Kite Fighting Contest (All Ages). Over 12: 2:30, Funniest Kite; 3:00, Most Artistic Kite.



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Personal


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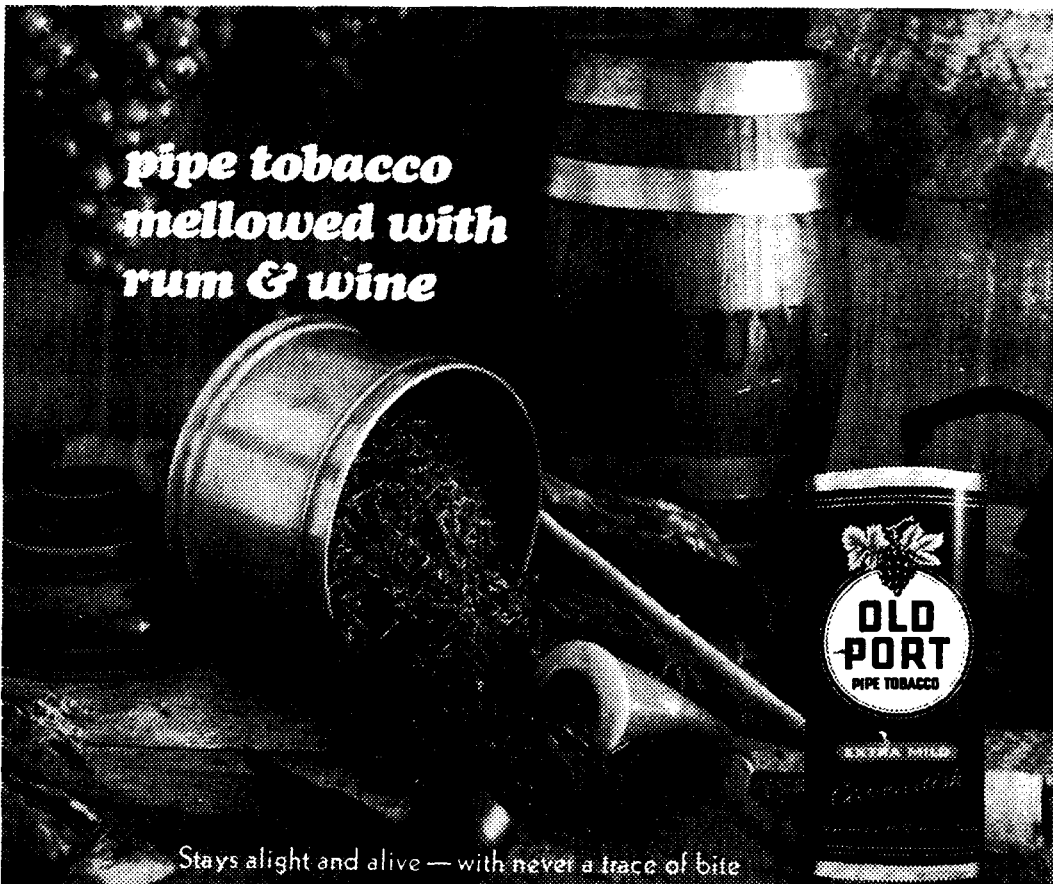
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